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Master's Thesis of Arts

**The Content and Characteristics of
U.S. Enlightenment for Rural Women
in Korea in the 1950s and 1960s
- Analysis of *New Strength***

**1950-1960년대 미국의 한국 농촌여성에 대한
계몽의 내용과 그 특징
-잡지 《새힘》을 중심으로**

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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to research the enlightenment content that the U.S. wanted to deliver to rural women in Korea by analyzing the magazine *New Strength*, published by the United States Information Service (USIS) in the 1950s and the 1960s.

The analysis reveals four types of representations of women: housewife, member of a democracy, laborer in the sphere of production, and woman leader. Each of the four types has different dimensions, and they are not discrete but rather intricately connected. The categories of housewife and a member of a democracy are naturally assigned to women. Women are commonly represented as housewives because they are biological female, and are represented as members of a democracy because they have political membership like men. Meanwhile, the categories of woman laborer and woman leader are a reflection of a time when women actively participated in the sphere of production. In addition, these two types show how women took part in the sphere of production in accordance with their socio-economic status.

Above all, even though four different types of women are represented in the magazine, the magazine has an embedded assumption that rural women are basically housewives, which corresponds with a prevalent assumption embedded in other international development projects aimed at women at that time. Moreover, it conveys the Westernized housewife model as an enlightened model, so content and activities for rural women's enlightenment mainly deal with household work.

This research contributes to filling up the shortage of previous studies on early rural development project in Korea under the guidance of the U.S. aid agency by focusing on gender and promoting a better understanding of rural Korean women's experiences in the rural development project presented as a best practice model for developing countries.

Keywords: rural women in Korea, rural development, USIS, enlightenment, *New Strength*, U.S. aid to Korea

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Chapter I. Introduction

1.1. Background

Gender has been greatly emphasized by global society as a significant, cross-cutting issue as many women around the world continue to struggle with gender-based disadvantages. Thus, global society has made all efforts to achieve gender equality in the global society.

There are two main reasons why we must strive for gender equality (World Bank, 2011). The first is that gender equality is a fundamental objective in itself. The ability to live the life of one's own choosing and be saved from absolute deprivation is a basic human right, which must be equally given to everyone, regardless of gender. Second, gender equality matters from an instrumental perspective in that gender equality greatly contributes to economic efficiency and the achievement of other crucial development outcomes. For these two reasons, gender becomes an integral element to consider in all international development projects.

Despite significant efforts, plenty of women are still struggling with poverty and discrimination. They experience severe constraints on social infrastructure, access to education, and quality job opportunities. In particular, it is known that the situation of rural women in developing countries is the poorest. According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development(OECD) report (2016), *A New Rural Development Paradigm(NRDP) for the 21st Century*, about three billion people reside in rural areas in developing countries, and women are key agents in both production and reproduction, being involved in not only

household affairs but also agricultural production. The report also notes that women comprise up to 43% of the agricultural labor force in developing countries. As such, women have played pivotal roles in society, but these roles have not been fully acknowledged. Women have been even more disadvantaged than men in terms of quality employment, poverty, and access to education and social infrastructure. Because of rural women's situation, gender has become an integral element to be considered in rural development projects.

In particular, when it comes to rural development projects for women, global society has paid close attention to Korean experiences. The NRDP notes the involvement of women in Korean rural development projects and the changes in their social status, presenting the Korean experience of rural development as a model for developing countries (OECD, 2016). There are many studies of the impact of rural development projects on women in Korea and the changes in their social status. Even though there is still contention over whether the involvement of women in Korean rural development contributed to progress in the status of women or not, global society wants to know Korean women's experiences in the process of Korean rural development to gain understanding of rural development and close the gender gap in rural areas.

However, to fully understand this, it is necessary to study early Korean rural development projects implemented under the guidance of U.S. aid agencies. U.S. economic and technical aid and enlightenment activities played pivotal roles in early Korean rural development, so modern Korean rural development projects originated from the early rural development

projects led by the U.S. In fact, subsequent Korean rural development projects were carried out in a similar way to the U.S. government's initiatives in terms of system and principle, which shows that the U.S. strongly influenced Korean rural development. The impact was so significant that all people in Korean rural areas were heavily affected, including rural women. In this regard, it is essential to study U.S. rural development activities aimed at Korean women in order to fully comprehend Korean rural women's involvement in rural development and draw out related, useful implications for developing countries.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

In the 1950s and the 1960s, when Korea was a main recipient of U.S. aid, it was in the process of constructing a modern nation state. Meanwhile, the Cold War continued to intensify. Under these situations, the U.S. tried to strengthen its influence on Korean society by offering aid. Seventy percent of the Korean population lived in rural areas at that time, meaning that the Korean political, economic, and social foundation was also in rural areas. Thus, the U.S. viewed Korean rural society as an important target of its aid. As a result, the U.S. government provided financial and technical aid to rural areas and promoted enlightenment activities aimed at rural people in Korea.

A variety of U.S. aid had a huge influence on all members of rural areas in Korea. However, results of Korean rural development backed by such aid turned out to be different according to gender, class, and age. For instance, at that time, development projects for women were predominantly

concerned with home improvement, while development projects for men were mainly related to advanced farming methods. However, there is little literature dealing with U.S. aid to Korea and early rural development projects focusing on specific beneficiary groups. Above all, gender has not been reflected in the existing literature even though it is an essential element to consider in all kinds of development projects.

Rural women have played a crucial role in the improvement of living conditions and the enhancement of agricultural productivity. As such, they have contributed to rural development by playing various roles, but their contributions have not been fully acknowledged. Rural women in developing countries are much more disadvantaged than their male counterparts. Thus, many international development projects have focused on them.

In this situation, since the change in Korean rural women's status through rural development projects was presented as a model example in international society, more relevant studies are called for. Accordingly, many studies concerning the past experiences of rural women in Korea have been conducted, but the majority of them focuses on women's experiences in the Saemaul-Undong, which is known as the most representative Korean rural development project, neglecting previous rural development projects. However, considering that modern Korean rural development projects have their origin in the early initiatives led by the U.S., research on activities for rural women and how the U.S. viewed them could offer significant implications for international development projects for rural women.

Therefore, this research will examine rural development projects aimed

at rural women in Korea led by the U.S., especially focusing on enlightenment activities. In the 1950s and the 1960s when the early rural development was embarked, the United States Information Service (USIS) was in charge of diffusion of American culture and enlightenment activities so that the U.S. ideological and cultural impact on the Korean society was enlarged and strengthened. To enlighten Korean people, USIS conducted diverse activities, such as making a film, holding an exhibition, and publishing a magazine. So, through analyzing the magazine, *New Strength*, that USIS published for rural Koreans, the characteristics of U.S. enlightenment content for rural women in Korea in the 1950s and the 1960s can be examined.

The main analysis text, a monthly magazine called *New Strength*, was published from 1958 to 1965. Since it was edited and published by USIS, it is an informative resource to discover the U.S. perspective toward rural women in Korea and to explore the enlightenment activities implemented in rural areas. Furthermore, taking into account that the magazine's circulation was the largest among magazines published by USIS, and there were few magazines targeted at rural people at that time, it can easily be assumed how influential *New Strength* was in rural areas (Koh, 2010).

This research will uncover the content and characteristics of U.S. enlightenment activities through the magazine *New Strength*, concentrating on the period in the 1950s and the 1960s when the magazine was published. First, representations of women in the magazine will be explored. Secondly, through this, it will be possible to examine how the U.S. perceived rural women in Korea and what enlightenment content the U.S. sought to transfer

to them. Lastly, given the context of the time, the author will explore the characteristics of the U.S. perspective toward rural women and their content of enlightenment.

1.3 Methods

1.3.1 Analysis Text, *New Strength*

The magazine *New Strength* will be used as a main analysis text for this research. It was published from 1958 to 1965 and targeted at rural people in Korea. According to the USIS report (USIS, 1961), the circulation of the magazine was 210,000, and they were distributed to more than 26,000 village chiefs, agricultural high schools, extension service offices and indigenous cultural centers. Its circulation eventually rose up to 341,000 (USIS, 1961). The number of circulation of the *New Strength* was the highest among magazines published by USIS. Considering that there were few magazines targeted at people in rural areas at that time, it can be assumed that the influence of the magazine on rural people was huge.

In addition, it had its origin in *Rehab News*, published by the Korean Civil Assistance Command (USIS, 1961). It was inherited and continued by the United States Operation Misson (USOM), chiefly in charge of U.S. aid to Korea, for about two years and then converted to the present title (USIS, 1961). At this point, USIS formally started collaboration in offering the remainder of the material, generally contrived to support USIS country program and Cold War objectives (USIS, 1961). As time went on the significance on rural appeal in content became more highlighted, and also

the entire editorial job gradually transferred to USIS (USIS, 1961). Although USIS became in charge of the entire editorial job, USOM consistently participated in editing the magazine.¹ In addition to that, considering that the magazine was published in cooperation with other U.S. aid agencies, it can be assumed that its contents represented messages which the U.S. aid agency wanted to transfer to Korean rural people.

Considering the number of its circulation and representability of U.S. aid agency, *New Strength* would be an informative publication to find out what knowledge and information the U.S. aid agency wanted to deliver to rural women in Korea and how the U.S. aid agency viewed them. That is why the *New Strength* will be used as the main analysis text for this research. In order to conduct this research, the author has collected the *New Strength* magazines as below.

[Table 1] Collection of the magazine

Year	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1958	1/ 2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1959	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
1960	25/26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
1961			38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47
1962	48	49		50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58
1963	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70
1964	71	72	73	74	75							

¹ The article “Coming of the New Year” on issue 12 states that “USIS and OEC in which the institutions are writing the <New Strength> (...)” This statement proves that OEC still participated in publishing the magazine.

* The shaded areas refer to the collected magazine issues, and around 82.7 percent of the total issues have been collected.

1.3.2 Qualitative Content Analysis

Content analysis will be adopted for this research. Content analysis is a research method of analyzing texts for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context, with the aim of giving knowledge, new insights, a representation of facts, and a practical guide to action (Krippendorff, 2013). Its purpose is to accomplish a description of the phenomenon, and the outcome of the analysis is concepts of categories describing the phenomenon. Content analysis has been used as a method for analyzing hymns, newspaper and magazine articles, advertisements and political speeches since the 19th century, and its use has steadily increased and adopted to more various academic fields such as sociology, psychology, and nursing.

Content analysis is usually divided into two approaches, a qualitative and quantitative research method, although there is no sharp dividing line between them. The qualitative content analysis differs from the quantitative content analysis in that qualitative approach focuses more on latent content rather than manifest content (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004), and it is to a large extent inductive (Thompson, 1999). In other words, the focus of quantitative content analysis is primarily on manifest meaning, the qualitative content analysis is applied to latent and more context-dependent meaning. In addition, whereas the quantitative content analysis is often used to test hypotheses, the qualitative content analysis is often used to provide a detailed description of the material under analysis (Schreier, 2012).

Researcher determines the main approach among them depending on a purpose of a study. Therefore, the qualitative content analysis is considered as more appropriate for this research, since it is required to conduct an in-depth analysis of the magazine *New Strength* to achieve the purpose of this research which is to explore what knowledge or information USIS sought to transfer to Korean rural women through the magazine.

To support valid and reliable inferences, qualitative content analysis follows a set of systematic procedures. According to Elo and Kyngas (2008), there are three main phases to conduct the qualitative content analysis: preparation, organizing, and reporting. However, it does not need to be organized linearly since it may include interactive loops so there may be the repetition of particular processes until a certain quality is attained. (Krippendorff, 2013)

Firstly, Preparation stage begins with selecting the unit of analysis. In accordance with the research question, the unit of analysis can be a word, a theme, sentence, or portion of pages or words. Furthermore, it is required for researchers to make sense of the data and learn ‘what is going on,’ and to have a sense of the whole. (Elo & Kyngas, 2008).

At the organizing stage, researchers conduct to organize the qualitative data. This process includes open coding, creating categories and abstraction. Open coding is that notes and headings are written in the text while reading it. The written material is thoroughly read again, and as many headings as necessary are written down in the margins to describe all aspects of the content. The headings are collected on to coding sheets and categories are freely generated at this stage.

Following this open coding, the lists of categories are grouped under higher order headings. The aim of creating categories is to offer a means of describing the phenomenon, to increase understanding and to generate knowledge. While formulating categories, researchers should decide which things to put in the same category through interpretation. Using the constant comparative method is useful in this process because it can stimulate original insights as well as to make differences between categories apparent.

The last stage of the qualitative content analysis is an abstraction. Abstraction refers to formulating a general description of the research topic by generating categories. The abstraction continues as far as is reasonable and possible.

In accordance with the above procedure, this research will be carried out. First of all, the theme, 'women,' will be a fundamental unit of analysis because this research concentrates on rural women in Korea as a target population of U.S. enlightenment activities. So, all the magazine articles related to women will be sorted out and then they will be organized through open coding, creating categories, and abstraction. Lastly, the author will draw discussion and implications based on findings of the qualitative content analysis.

Chapter II. Literature Review

2.1 International Development and Women

To reveal characteristics of the U.S. enlightenment contents targeted at rural women in Korea in the magazine *New Strength*, it is necessary to understand the general feature of international development policy in the 1950s and the 1960s when the magazine was in print and the change of international development policy for women. Therefore, this chapter will briefly review the changes in international development policies for women and examine the discussion of the Third World women in development projects led by the Western industrial countries.

2.1.1 Change of International Development Policy for Women

In the Cold War era after the World War II, the policies for women from the non-Western countries followed the framework of development strategy suggested by Western industrial countries (Bae, 2016). In addition, in the colonial discourse, the Third World women were typically regarded as an exotic sexual object and a backward member of a backward society (Bae, 2016; Rogers, 1989). Development planners uncritically accepted this view even in the post-colonial era. Therefore, women were recognized as a vulnerable group requiring social assistance, not as a proactive participant in the development process, so they were just considered as a passive object of welfare in development projects at that time. For instance, in the 1950s and the 1960s, World Health Organization(WHO) programs generally categorized women with children, the elderly, or the infirm (Jain, 2005, p.36). Not only WHO, but also other United Nations(UN) agencies like

United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund(UNICEF) and the Food and Agriculture Organization(FAO) considered women as vulnerable and focused on women only as mothers and housewives according to the Western colonial discourse of gender perception (Jain, 2005).

From the early 1970s, female development professionals began to challenge the early development policies, arguing that benefits of the development policies had not fairly distributed to women and men (Boserup, 1970; Miller&Razavi, 1995). They also challenged the assumption embedded in the early development policies that women were not involved in productive economic activities, but they were confined to the production of subsistence and housework. They tried to prove that women were a significant contributor to economic production just like men through valid evidence. So they required to reform development policies to integrate women as producers not as needy recipients in the development process, and these arguments were called Women in Development(WID) framework. WID advocates urged that women's productivity would increase and influence positively on development if equality of opportunity was guaranteed to women.

However, by the late 1970s, the WID approach to development came under fire from some scholars working within a Gender and Development (GAD) framework (Ransom & Bain, 2011). According to them, although WID approach contributed to identifying women's lack of access to resources as the key to their subordination, WID advocates failed to recognize the unequal power relations between women and men (Miller & Razavi, 1995; Ransom & Bain, 2011). In other words, instead of raising a

question of the unequal gender relations, they pursued more economic outcomes through women's economic activity based on their traditional role. They were also criticized in that they ignored difference among women and regarded a development just as economic growth (Kim, 2005).

GAD approach, formed by socialist feminism and postcolonial feminism, pointed out that a problem was not a woman herself but the social structure which distributed profits of development to men and women unequally. GAD approach also viewed women as an independent agent who had rights to voice and organized politically rather than as a beneficiary of development. While the WID approach concentrated on integrating women into the official economic system, the GAD approach put stress on how women are mainstreamed and how their perspective and interests were met in the development policies (Kim, 2005). Another significant GAD's argument was that development projects aimed at women had failed to significantly impact on policy since such efforts had been ghettoized within women's units that were small and powerless (Ransom & Bain, 2011). For this reason, they pursued that gender issues diffused throughout all policies, programs, and practices. And their demand for gender mainstreaming was officially adopted by the UN at the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. Even though there is no consensus on the concept of "gender mainstreaming," it has been introduced to all the social sectors as the necessary strategy to put the GAD approach into practice (Kim, 2005; Miller & Razavi, 1995). The table below summarizes the different policy approaches to Third World women.

[Table 2] Different Policy Approaches to Third World Women

Approach	Welfare	WID	GAD
Issues	Welfare	Equity Anti-poverty Efficiency	Empowerment
Origins	Earliest approach: - residual model of social welfare under colonial administration - modernization / accelerated growth economic development model	- failure of modernization development policy - influence of Boserup and First World feminists - declaration of UN Decade for Women	Most recent approach: - arouse out of failure of equity approach - influence of Third World Women's feminist, socialist feminist, and grass-root organizations
Period most popular	1950-70: but still widely employed	1970s onward	The late 1970s onward
Purpose & Comment	To bring women into development as better mothers: - this is seen as their most important role in development. - women seen as passive beneficiaries of development with focus on reproductive role	To gain equity for women in the development process: - women seen as active participants in development	To empower women through greater self-reliance: - women's subordination seen not only as problem of men but also of colonial and neo colonial oppression

Source: Reconstructed by author from Moser (1989)

2.1.2 International development and the Third World Women

In the 1950s and the 1960s, there were few previous studies on women and development, and aid agencies paid little attention to the impacts of their programs on women's lives and status (Cohn, Wood, & Haag, 1981). This can be identified by the ambiguity of the terminology, "men", referring to people in the development studies and anthropology which are closely related to international development. In other words, the terminology 'men' is commonly used to refer to all people in all academic works in development studies or development planning, which implies that males are the only people worthy of discussion (Rogers, 1989). Since the questions have been posed in Western development researchers about the Third World

in terms of men, women have been excluded from all the answers (Rogers, 1989).

Women in the Third World became invisible in a development planning and they were considered as those who need to be enlightened for development and to get social assistance. However, feminists asserted that women in the Third World were deeply involved in international development policies and they further argued that the women's labor was strategically utilized in development plans (Mies, 1986). Through playing various roles in the development process as an agricultural worker, an industrial worker, and a homemaker, their free or cheap labor laid a foundation to carry out the development policies of the Third World (Custers, 2012; Mies, 1986). However, although women played a significant role in a development process, they did not receive a fair reward as men did.

By the criticism against the gender discriminative development policies, discussion on women in the field of development began in earnest in the 1970s. Thus, the discussion would be an informative resource to understand the development policies for women in the 1950s and the 1960s. Moreover, the welfare approach dominantly adopted in the 1950s and the 1960s had been applied to development planning ever since then, so the criticisms against development policies for women after the 1970s are also relevant to the early development policies. Therefore, in order to supplement the scarce discussion on women in the field of development in the 1950s and the 1960s, this study will refer to the literature from the 1970s onward.

In the 1950s and the 1960s when the WID approach did not emerge yet, development policies for women were conducted on the basis of the welfare

approach. The welfare approach is the oldest and still prevalent social development policy for the women in the Third World. Moser (1989) pointed out three assumptions embedded in the welfare approach. First, women are simply beneficiaries, rather than independent agents of development. The second assumption is that motherhood is the most significant identity for women in society and the last one is that child rearing is the most effective role for women in all aspects of economic development.

This welfare approach was based on the Western tradition and ideas because it had been introduced by Western colonial authorities in many Third World countries (Moser, 1989). Moreover, international development planners, who refer to all those who determine the formulation, design, and execution of development plans and projects, were predominantly male and mostly trained in the Western tradition in the 1950s and the 1960s, so the Third World development policies were greatly influenced by them (Rogers, 1989). The Western gender perception internalized by the planners is a way of understanding men as a breadwinner in charge of production labor in public domain and women as a housewife in charge of reproduction labor in private domain (Bae, 2016; May, 1988). By defining the role of women as caring workers, the exclusive role of the biological mother in nurturing infants and children is considered the most important role for women. This is closely related to the identification of women's place in the domestic sphere, as wives and mothers (Rogers, 1989). Accordingly, UN and UN agencies, the representative international institutions, also viewed women primarily as mothers and homemakers based on the welfare approach in the

1950s and the 1960s (Jain, 2005).

The Western gender norm was reinforced by two factors; domestic science movement and maternal deprivation. The domestic science movement presented an ideal model of a woman, a scientific housewife who equipped with home economics knowledge and sought to confine women's role to unpaid domestic works (Rogers, 1989). In other words, the domestic science movement provided home economic knowledge based on scientific research with women to make them specialized in domestic works and child rearing. However, the scientific knowledge was largely generated and distributed by "arbitrary experts," male specialist, so the domestic science movement undermined the foundation of confidence that mothers originally had in terms of household works (Yoon, 2001).

Notably, the U.S. took the lead in exporting domestic science program, pioneered in home economics programs in land-grant colleges in this period, to the Third World (Jain, 2005). Jain (2005) argued that the U.S. domestic science program was also based on a set of Western perceptions of class, gender, race, and sexuality that were rendered individual in the process of exportation to developing countries. In addition, the UN agencies like FAO suggested domestic science programs as a tool of nation-building that was modern and scientific to the Third World countries (Jain, 2005).

Another factor to reinforce the Western gender norm has been the idea of 'maternal deprivation.' Maternal deprivation means that children would suffer if their mother or another woman working full-time as a mother substitute did not provide them with constant and enough attention all day and all night (Roger, 1989). The maternal deprivation idea made women

working outside feel guilty toward children, so it functioned to bring the women back to home. These two factors brought about the domestication of Western women, which caused various forms of discrimination in the non-domestic sphere (Rogers, 1989). For instance, in terms of hiring, promotion and wage structures, it is readily assumed that women do not have to work since they are supposed to have a husband supporting them and their children (Rogers, 1989).

The post-war period was the heyday of the domestic science movement and the maternal deprivation theories, which accompanied the exclusion of women from significant sectors of the employment market in Western countries (Lee, 2003a; Rogers, 1989). Meanwhile, the period was the time when the institutions and fundamental ideas of Third World development were being established, and the ideas from development planner trained in Western traditions had been widely influential in determining the view that the Third World women should be confined to a domestic role as full-time mothers and homemakers, and that this would automatically exclude them from mainstream development projects (Germain, 1976; Rogers, 1989).

As a result of the influence of Western ideas on women in the Third World, the women were recognized as a reproducer rather than a producer in a development process. So the development projects aimed at the Third World women mainly related to home economics and its sub-branches, such as nutrition and child-rearing to help them to effectively and efficiently carry out domestic works. Planners mostly introduced the development projects for women as social welfare services rather than as income-generating activities. To be specific, the contents of the development

projects for women included nutrition, child care, maternity diseases, family planning, literacy, sewing, spinning, gardening, and sanitation, all of which are stereotyped by Western culture as being for women (Boserup, 1970; Lele, 1975; Rogers, 1989). In particular, Western advanced industrial countries emphasized nutritional education to combat Third World malnutrition (Moser, 1989). Also, another primary method of implementation of development projects for women is through top-down handouts of free goods and services (Moser, 1989). A few others involved training women, but it is for those skills considered appropriate for housewives and mothers. In addition to these domestic training programs, some developing countries have programs for training women in crafts and home industries. Boserup (1970) argued that where women live in seclusion, teaching them a craft which they can do at home may be the only possible way to bring them into the labor market. So, it may help towards the eventual abandonment of seclusion like training in hand spinning in India, and in embroidery in Tunisia. But in case that women do not live in seclusion, it may be to drag them into low-productive jobs rather than to help them to find more productive employment.

Above all, those Western-oriented development projects for women in the Third World were based neither on their realities nor needs of the Third World women. Traditionally, African women played pivotal roles in agricultural production as much as men did, and the majority of poor women in the Third World did not have a choice but to participate in the sphere of production to survive (Boserup, 1970; Germain, 1976; Lele, 1975). According to Germain (1976), the poor women spend at least one third,

usually more than half, their time in productive activities in addition to childrearing and homemaking. However, the Western development planners designed and implemented development projects for women on the premise that there may not be a huge difference between women in Western countries and ones in the Third World in terms of their roles. Thus, the planners sought to enlighten women in the Third World as the ideal type of a housewife who had scientific and rational knowledge about house works just like Western women. The premise underlying in the development projects for women in the Third World made the women excluded from a broader range of development projects and policies that would help more productive. Meanwhile, men in the Third World were provided with technical training and resources that would help increase their productivity (Boserup, 1970; Germain, 1976; Moser, 1989; Rogers, 1989).

Development projects for the Third World women that did not match their actual needs and lives resulted in intensifying gender inequality rather than addressing it. Gender-biased education programs of development projects, which taught scouting for boys and needle work for girls, made sharper division between the sexes (Rogers, 1989). Boserup (1970) also pointed out that European development planners were primarily responsible for the deterioration in the status of women in the agricultural sectors of developing countries by conducting discriminatory policies in agricultural education and training programs. She argued that they neglected the female agricultural labor force when they introduced modern commercial agriculture to the developing countries and promoted the productivity of only male labor (Boserup, 1970). In particular, eco-feminists asserted that

introduction of the Green Revolution technologies to increase agricultural production exacerbated the status of women in the agricultural sectors (Custers, 2012). Shiva, a representative eco-feminist, argued that women played a crucial role in maintaining of the ecological cycle by selecting and storing seeds and guarding the soil's fertility (Custers, 2012). However, the women's roles were undermined by the introduction of high-responsive varieties of seeds and chemical fertilizer under the Green Revolution to mainly male farmers (Custers, 2012).

Besides, it was hard to apply the contents of development projects for women in the Third World to their lives. The common wisdom that development planners kept in mind judges that stereotypical Western female tasks are both simple and familiar to poor women in the Third World, so they are easily transferable (Buvinić, 1986; Germain, 1976; Lele, 1975; Rogers, 1989). However, in reality, the tasks were not simple nor were they as familiar to poor women as they were assumed to be, and the planners overlooked differences in background between Western women and the Third World women. The training course for women in the rural development project in Bolivia is one of the examples (Buvinić, 1986). The female participants in the course were being taught about nutrition and cooking, sewing, knitting, and crochet. But these tasks were so difficult and unfamiliar to high land rural women whose main tasks were to herd and shear animals, manage household finances (Buvinić, 1986). Another example is that to give a demonstration on child care to a group of African women, one home economic agent made use of an imported plastic bathtub filled with warm water. In reality, however, both water and a plastic bathtub

did not seem easily available to the women in the audience (Lele, 1975). Furthermore, there is an inadequate scientific basis for the home economics projects and teaching (Roger, 1989). Especially in terms of nutrition project, without virtual research on the nutritional value of locally available foods, instructors just recommended having imported oranges for vitamin c, completely ignoring local fruits which have far higher levels of the vitamin. Thus, nutrition projects and education for women in the Third World have been criticized for increasing people's dependence on imported food (Rogers, 1989).

To sum up of the existing literature on development policies for women in the Third World in the 1950s and the 1960s, they commonly pointed out that as the development policies for the Third World were led by male development planners predominantly trained in Western traditions, development policies for the Third World women were also designed and implemented by them. The planners uncritically applied the Western gender division of labor to development projects for women in the Third World, so they viewed the women as homemakers and mothers in charge of reproduction activities in a private sector. From the viewpoint, the contents of development projects for women primarily consisted of knowledge and information about household works based on home economics. However, many pieces of literature argued that the development projects were irrelevant to real lives of women in the Third World because they traditionally played different roles from women in Western advanced industrial countries. Furthermore, it was also pointed out that gender inequality in the sphere of production was intensified by providing only men

with training course dealing with skills and knowledge directly related to labor productivity.

However, the discussion on development policies for women in the 1950s and the 1960s concentrated on expanding of women's participation in economic activities and calling for a fair reward for their economic contributions. Yet, it did not reach to pose an ultimate doubt about that domestic works were confined solely to women. Namely, it is a limitation that the discussion did not pose a significant problem to social structures which brought out unequal gender relations.

2.2 The U.S. Foreign Policy in the 1950s and the 1960s

After the World War II, the ultimate aim of the U.S. foreign policy was to keep the communist camp from expanding its influence and to strengthen the capitalist camp (Lee, 2009). To do so, the U.S. spread the development ideology centered on the U.S. to the world and supported it through military, financial, and technical assistance (McMichael, 2012; Park, 2013). Thereby, other countries recognized the U.S. as an ideal society. In particular, the Third World countries, just out of colonies, jumped into the development project to reach an economically developed state which the U.S. already accomplished (McMichael, 2012).

2.2.1 New Development Discourse

It was the time when the magazine *New Strength* was published that decolonization happened all over the world during the Cold War. In the era of decolonization under the Cold War, the world subdivided into three

geopolitical segments: the capitalist world called First World, the Communist world called Second World, and the rest mostly former European colonies called Third World (McMichael, 2012).

As the colonial empires collapsed after the World War II, the newly independent countries called the Third World gained political sovereignty and attempted to establish and develop a new modern country. McMichael (2012) pointed out that decolonization offered development new meaning in connection with the ideal of sovereignty, the possibility of converting subjects into citizens, and the pursuit of economic development for social justice. And the new notion of the development was inspired by French and U.S. revolutionary ideologies of liberal-nationalism, which functioned as the bedrock of building nineteenth century European nation through national education systems, national languages and currencies, modern armies, and voting citizens (McMichael, 2012).

The development which the Third World countries embarked on was derived from the experiences European empires had gone through in the nineteenth century, so it was newly formed in a Westernized way in a special historical context although it was recognized as universal and natural (McMichael, 2012; Park, 2013). Within the Westernized development discourse framework, development was assumed to be synonymous with economic growth and to have an evolutionary linear sequence (Park, 2013). Moreover, according to the new discourse of development, the world could be divided into developed areas and underdeveloped areas by the degree of economic growth. President Harry S. Truman's key speech demonstrated this:

We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth underdeveloped areas.

As the above Truman's proclamation implied that the world was divided into developed modern areas and underdeveloped pre-modern areas, the economically deprived Third World countries were unilaterally defined as underdeveloped pre-modern areas. The development discourse presented a single direction for the Third World countries to catch up the Western advanced industrial countries by following their experiences (Carolan, 2012; McMichael, 2012). Particularly, since it was the time that the rise of the U.S.'s global power and prosperity happened, the Third World countries regarded the U.S. as an ideal model country. Thus, they followed not only the U.S. experiences of economic growth but also the U.S. lifestyle (Heo, 2014).

This new discourse of development contributed to strengthening the power of First World, especially the U.S., in the new postwar international economy. In the context of Cold War, while First and Second Worlds were competing for the hearts and resources of the Third World, the Western-centered development discourse functioned to sustain First World wealth and expand its market by encouraging the Third World countries to emulate First World civilization and its living standards (McMichael, 2012). In particular, the U.S., the center of First World, internationally led the development project to expand overseas markets and reinforce its

international influence. Furthermore, the new development discourse was backed and implemented by the international aid and the Bretton Woods system².

Since national industrialization was an integral means to accomplish economic growth in the new development discourse, the Third World countries committed to national industrialization to catch up with the Western advanced industrial countries. Accordingly, agricultural society should be replaced with urban industrial society. Thus, the Third World countries put top priority on policies for the national industrialization and carried them out. At that time, Korea also attempted to transform to the urban industrial society through the state-led industrialization policies, and at the same time sought to agro-industrialization as well, which can be identified in the magazine.³

When it comes to the agro-industrialization, it was backed not only by individual country policies but also by international development policies such as food aid programs and the green revolution. To dispose of farm surpluses, the U.S. government designed a food-aid program known as the PL 480 program, and through the program the U.S. provided the Third

² Bretton woods system, established in 1944, created an international basis for exchanging one currency for another. It also brought about the creation of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, known as the World Bank. In particular, the latter was designed to provide underdeveloped countries with needed capital for development of the countries.

³ Even though the magazine was a “basically farmer’s help magazine” (USIS, 1961, p. 34), there are many articles covering industry sector in urban areas. And as the titles of the articles, such as “Double Money Through Double Pigs”, “Egg is Money”, “The advice of agricultural improvement workers is like money”, and “Agriculture is Business” implies, the magazine advocated the change of Korean agriculture characteristic from traditional subsistence agriculture to commercial one.

World countries with grain surpluses. The U.S. government instituted the Public Law 480 in 1954 to implement it. The program consisted of three elements: commercial sales on concessionary terms (Title 1), famine relief (Title 2), and food bartered for strategic raw materials (Title 3). The official purpose of the PL 480 was “to increase the consumption of the U.S. agricultural commodities and to improve the foreign relations of the U.S. and for other purposes.” In addition to the above mentioned purposes, the PL 480 program was implemented to secure the anti-communism and increase food dependency in recipient countries (McMichael, 2012; Carolan, 2012; Jang, 1989). Furthermore, as the program supplied cheap food to the Third World areas, it served to provide the industrial sector with labor force by making farmers become wage laborers in the industry sector. In other words, government’s pro-industrialization policies and the PL 480 program caused rural people to migrate to urban areas as factory workers (Carolan, 2012). Meanwhile, the U.S. model of chemical agriculture played a key role in this process. The model, characterized as capital and energy intensive agriculture, made it possible to produce a massive quantity of agricultural outputs and to supply them to the Third World areas with a small cost. As a result, farmers in the Third World suffered from poverty and converted to wage labors. On the other hand, for America, the chemical farming methods contributed to accumulating capital on a global scale and expanding its impact on the Third World areas.

Another primary factor of the Third World’s agro-industrialization was the green revolution. The green revolution was devised to increase agricultural outputs through plant-breeding agricultural technologies. Since

the green revolution needed chemical and machinery inputs like synthetic fertilizer and pesticides to carry it out, it served as the important medium through which the U.S. model of chemical agriculture was introduced into the Third World (McMichael, 2012).

Although the green revolution brought about a dramatic increase in the agricultural sector outputs in the Third World, it caused several side effects as well. First of all, the chemical agriculture model based on the green revolution destroyed the ecosystem on a global scale. In addition, as the technologies of the green revolution were not evenly transferred to people in the Third World rural areas, inequalities between sexes, regions, and farmhouses were intensified (Mies & Shiva, 1993). Not only that, it had a negative influence on diversification of food intake, resulting from that the green revolution focused on certain high-yielding crops and they replaced traditional diverse crops with them (Carolan, 2012).

2.2.2 U.S. Aid toward Korea

The U.S. put a great effort to incorporate the Third World countries into the capitalist camp in the context of the Cold War through aid programs. Especially, since South Korea shared a common border with communist North Korea, it was imperative for the U.S. to secure South Korea against the communist camp. For this reason, Korea became the recipient of the largest amount of U.S. foreign aid in the Third World (Park, 1999). With the enormous amount of financial, military, and ideological support from the U.S., the Korean government launched development projects just like other Third World countries.

Regarding the U.S. aid policies for Korea, the first period from the establishment of the Korean government to the outbreak of the Korean War could be expressed in one word, “containment” (Lee, 2009). After the armistice was signed, the Eisenhower administration’s policies for Korea were carried out within the framework of “New Look” (Lee, 2009). The Containment policies were designed to prevent the communist from spreading to South Korea and to reconstruct Korea as a modern nation-state through a massive amount of financial and military support. However, at the end of the Korean War when the new Eisenhower’s administration began, the new administration and congress cast critical doubts on effectiveness and appropriateness of the Containment foreign policy leading to raising the New Look policy (Lee, 2009; Park, 1999). The New Look policies mainly focused on reduction of the total amount of aid, particularly grants.

With the overall change in the U.S. foreign policy, for Korea, the reduction of the amount of aid was actualized in the late 1950s, and at the same time, the needs for economic development of Korea gradually increased. Park (1999) pointed out that the turning point of changes in U.S. policy toward South Korea was observed in the early 1960s when the Kennedy administration was launched, rather than the late 1950s. According to him (1999), even though the call for economic development aid had appeared in the late 1950s, the basic strategy of the U.S. toward South Korea did not change until the end of the Eisenhower administration. In fact, the call for Korean economic development in the 1950s did not mean to change the U.S. strategy but it was a countermeasure against the reduction of amount of aid (Lee, 2009; Park, 1999). So, private investments and

technical aid were highlighted in order to supplement the reduced aid (Lee, 2009). In other words, as the sum of the U.S. aid decreased, the U.S. officials who took part in South Korea affairs put emphasis on training human resources through technical and education aid that could be relatively efficient with a low cost.

Under the Kennedy administration, the necessity of a transition from military aid to economic development was raised by Rostow and other academic scholars as well. Rostow and his colleagues argued that economic growth in the Third World supported by U.S. economic development aid could give people in the Third World confidence that the capitalist way might be better than socialism for economic development. Thus, the reduction of the South Korean military was considered to increase aid for economic development plan. On top of that, the new policy put an emphasis on social reforms which called for both material and spiritual changes. The social reforms were clearly linked to the new discourse of development mentioned earlier. (Park, 1999)

In short, it can be assumed that the publication of the *New Strength* might be associated with the context of change in the U.S. foreign policy; the total amount of aid was reduced but the economic development and social reforms were stressed.

There is no doubt that the U.S. aid to Korea had a significant influence on Korean society. During the 1950s and the 1960s, Korea was heavily reliant on the U.S. aid, not only for its economic growth prospects but even for its day-to-day functioning (Krueger, 1979).

Moreover, considering that the U.S. aid to Korea was implemented

within the western development framework which sought to industrialization, the aid largely influenced the Korean agriculture society leading to agro-industrialization. Above all, the most important aid program to impact on Korea agriculture sector was a food-aid program called PL 480 program. Although the PL 480 program contributed to solving the food shortage problem aftermath of the Korean War, it destroyed Korean agriculture sector as more amount of cheap surpluses from the U.S. came in Korea compared to the amount of crop shortage (Gills, 1999; Jang, 1989; No, 1988). Jang (1989) pointed out that the cheap flour and cotton came from the U.S. as a part of the aid program brought about an increase in the number of flour consumers in Korea, and at the same time, they led to intensifying farmers' financial difficulties and disappearance of production of cotton in Korea.

Moreover, as the domestic demands for food were changed and the agricultural production was stagnated due to the PL 480 program, the dependency on the U.S. agriculture production was intensified more and more. On the other hand, the U.S. could strengthen economic, political, and military dominance in Korea. This can be confirmed by the former U.S. senator, Hubert Humphery's comment as follows: "If you are looking for a way to get people to learn about you and to be dependent on you, in terms of their cooperation with you, it seems to me that food dependency would be terrific." In the end, the U.S. solved the problem of overproduction of domestic agriculture in the form of aid and used it as a principal means of the process of reconstruction of the global economic system after World War II (Jang, 1989).

In addition to the PL 480 program, the U.S. aid agency carried out the community development project aimed at Korean rural areas. In the 1950s, the rural community development project was widely spread to the British and American colonial countries in response to the necessity of a development of the Third World countries. According to the evaluation survey report of Korean community development project (Hodgdon, 1961), the project was aimed at helping the majority of the people of a nation, particularly those who in the rural areas, to seek and find a better way of life by cooperatively democratically identifying their problems, defining their common needs and goals, and formulating plans of action to attain these common objectives. For Korea, the community development project was launched in association with the U.S. policies toward South Korea so called “New Look” policy in the late 1950s.

Heo (2004) argued that in order for the U.S. aid agency to develop Korea as an “anti-communist nation” within the capitalist camp, it actively intervened the reorganization of the Korean rural society through the community development project. He pointed out two points which reveal the U.S. intention to establish the U.S. dominance order in Korea through the community development project (Heo, 2004). Firstly, the security of individual rights and expansion of democratic procedures were postulated as a primary criterion for the project evaluation based on the assumption that the American democratic value was a means of progress. Secondly, the U.S. influence on the Korean rural areas was enlarged by transmitting the U.S. institution and value through technical aids. Han (2006) also asserted that even though the project was led and supervised by the National Council of

Community Development (NACOM), the central committee established through consultation between the Korean and U.S. governments, actually the U.S. aid agency played a leading role in implementing the project. Thus, the U.S. policy for Korea was well reflected in the community development project, resulting in projecting the constant U.S. interest in the spread of democracy on the project.

To sum up, in the context of the Cold War, the development project based on economic growth and nation-state was assigned not only to First World but also the Third World including Korea. Notably, Korea implemented the development project under the guidance of the U.S. aid agency. Moreover, the Korean rural area where the majority of the Korean population resided at that time was an important target of the development project. However, the existing literature on the Korean development project during this period has not focused on the specific target groups of the project. Furthermore, the consideration of rural women emerging as a significant issue in recent rural development projects has rarely been reflected in the literature. Therefore, this research will examine the U.S. enlightenment activities as a part of development project, focusing on rural women in order to complement the shortcomings of previous literature.

2.3 Rural Women in Korea in the 1950s and the 1960s

2.3.1 Role of Rural Women in Korea

According to the pieces of literature on roles of rural women in Korea, they primarily divided rural women's roles into three different kinds:

household work, agricultural production, and community service (Cho, 2000; Kim, 1994; Shin, 2000). And they commonly pointed out that roles of women were steadily expanded in the agriculture sector (Cho, 2000; Kim, 1994; Shin, 2000)

However, Kim (1994) criticized the existing literature in that they placed the reproduction role and the production role of rural women in parallel in the same dimension. She argued that rural women's participation in agricultural production was a form of occupational labor and, on the other hand, household work was a dual labor which had been traditionally imposed by the gender division of labor. Meanwhile, participation in community services was an alternative social activity, so it was a different activity from participation in agricultural production, having a different dimension. Bearing in mind her argument of the division of rural women's roles, this study will review the roles of rural women in Korea.

Firstly, women in Korea actively participated in economic activities in general (Bae, 2004; Kim, 1994; Lee, 2003c). According to the literature, most Korean women became key figures in charge of supporting their families. From the end of the Japanese colonial rule, the Korean family had been characterized as a matrifocal family which means that a mother was responsible for family's livelihood and caring for the rest of family due to an absence of a father (Bae, 2004). The phases of the times led women to be involved in economic activities, and their involvement was intensified by the wake of the Korean War (Lee, 2003c). The table below shows how economically active women in Korea were in 1958 when the magazine *New Strength* was published.

[Table 3] Women's Economic Activities in 1958

	Agriculture and Fishery	Mining	Industry	Commerce	Transport	Construction	Public Service	Others	Total
A	50.5	11.5	28.1	35.4	5.0	7.5	17.7	45.9	46.3
B	80.5	0.1	0.9	4.8	0.1	0.1	1.8	11.7	100

Source: Reconstructed by author from Lee (2003c)

A: a rate of women among all employed persons in the same occupation

B: a rate of women engaged in each occupation among all female employed persons

As the table shows, the rate of women's economic participation was very high in 1958, and the majority of them worked in agricultural and fishery production. This is because at that time the agriculture was predominant industry and more than seventy percent of the Korean population lived in rural areas. Hong (1978) also pointed out that women in Korea comprised a large and growing part of the labor force, and most of the women were heavily involved in farming and fishery works although women's occupations have been diversified along with the change of the structure of the national economy.

In addition to the agricultural production, many women in Korea advanced to commercial business ranging from standing markets to peddling and service business such as coffee shops and restaurants, and they gradually engaged in manufacturing industry (Lee, 2003c). Considering the economic activities which many rural women engaged in such as peddling and housekeeper were not included in the official statistics, it can be assumed that the participation of women in economic activity was a general phenomenon in the 1950s and the 1960s.

Although women in Korea actively participated in economic activities, at the same time they also had to be in charge of domestic work which had traditionally assigned to women (Hong, 1978). As a result, women's burden of labor increased because the sphere of reproduction firmly persisted as the exclusive domain of women's labor even though the range of women's economic activities was expanded more and more (Gills, 1999). Furthermore, Gills (1999) argued that the Korean government contributed to maintaining the pre-existing sexual exclusivity within the sphere of reproduction allocating most of the household work to women by reinforcing and spreading the ideology of "*hyon mo-yang cho*" ⁴(wise mother and good wife). Indeed, the government intended to cultivate the ideology through education, so it was applied to the matter of women's education and the content therein (Lee, 2003b). The ideology of *hyon mo-yang cho* functioned to keep women from neglecting her responsibility for caring for the rest of the family members. As a result of its influence, women needed to carry out tasks within both the spheres of reproduction and production (Gills, 1999).

Lastly, Korean rural women conducted community services mainly through participating in rural development projects. For example, regarding the Saemaul movement, a classic example of Korean rural development project in the 1970s, rural women played a pivotal role in operating

⁴ The previous studies point out that the Japanese colonial authority widely disseminated the ideology of *hyon mo-yang cho* influenced by the Western culture, but the ideology was remade in the 1950s in accordance with the new idea of Liberal Democracy and influence of social, political and economic upheavals (Kim, 2007; Kim, 2000; Lee, 2003b). The new ideology called for women to serve "great maternity" equipped with knowledge, virtue, and health as well as "competent wives" who are intelligent enough to fulfill social activities and at the same time manage household reasonably (Kim, 2007).

activities of the movement (Choi, 2013; Kim, Kang, & Lee, 2012). There was the Saemaul Women's Association in every village, and it implemented several projects such as the rice savings project, the co-op store project, and the village kitchen project. These projects contributed to creating economic resources for other rural development projects (Gills, 1999). Yet, even before embarking on the Saemaul movement, rural women had carried out the same kinds of projects in the 1950s and the 1960s as well, and this can be confirmed in the magazine *New Strength*.⁵

On the other hand, Gills (1999) and Kim (1994) pointed out that the change of rural women's role was related to the world economic system. According to the new international division of labor under the world economic system, the labor-intensive manufacturing industry was exported to developing countries including Korea. Consequently, manufacturing factories were moved to the countries, and laborers from there produced consumer goods for Western advanced industrial countries with an extremely low wage (Gills, 1999; Mies, 1986). As Korea began to involve in development project characterized as industrialization, the Korean government established and implemented pro-industrial policies which brought about the underdevelopment of agriculture and a rural exodus (Gills, 1999). Moreover, the result of the policies considerably affected rural women, leading them to participate in agricultural production activities more intensively and widely to fill up the labor shortage (Cho, 2000; Gills, 1999; Kim, 1994). In the meantime, along with the export-led

⁵ The article, "Steadily One by One" on issue 69, states that the home improvement club consisting of village women carried out a rice saving project to raise funds for renovation of kitchen and established the co-op store.

industrialization process, rural women were gradually incorporated into the industrial workforce. In particular, young rural women migrated to urban areas to have a job in the industry sector, and they greatly contributed to the labor-intensive manufacturing sector by providing labor force with a low wage (Gills, 1999; Kim, 2003).

2.3.2 Korean Rural Development and Women

As mentioned before, the U.S. aid agency led the early Korean rural development in the 1950s and the 1960s through its financial and technical assistance. And it has heavily impacted on the subsequent rural development projects which followed its purpose and the principle of operation. Therefore, to fully understand women's experiences in Korean rural development, it is necessary to study women's experiences in the early rural development projects, the modern origin of Korean rural development, led by the U.S. aid agency.

The Korean rural development projects were institutionalized by promulgating the Agricultural Extension Law in 1957 and the community development project in 1958. The community development project was designed for innovation of rural society's systems, and the Agricultural Extension Law for education and training of rural population (Kim, 1994). In particular, considering that the time when the rural development projects were legally institutionalized corresponded with the time when the *New Strength* was first published, it can be assumed that the magazine was designed as an instrument of rural development.

The rural development projects could not be accomplished without

women's participation. So, organizing of home improvement clubs aimed at rural women and training of them were carried out nationwide (Office of Rural Development [ORD], 1967). In addition, the remarkable feature of the operating rural development project in Korea is that the U.S. aid agency was deeply involved. Thus, it can be inferred that they were designed and implemented within the framework of the U.S. foreign policy. Accordingly, they were influenced by the U.S. notion of femininity. The perspective and intention of the U.S. aid agency were reflected in the 4-H club as well which was a part of rural development projects aimed at rural youth. In addition, the cooperative system was established through setting up the Institute of Agriculture and the community development project (Kim, 1994).

1) Home Improvement Project

The modern agricultural extension service was historically initiated and developed in the U.S., and it was spread by the U.S to developing countries as the U.S. provided them with financial and technical assistance on a broad scale (Lim, 2016). For Korean agricultural extension service, the U.S. aid agency supported it with financial and technical aid. In particular, in May 1956, a team of the University of Minnesota in the U.S. came to Korea and completed the so-called "Macy report" on agricultural research and extension in Korea, and the Korean agricultural extension was designed and conducted based on the report (ORD, 1967; Kim, 1994).

The modernized agricultural extension service in Korea was started with the establishment of the Institute of Agriculture in 1957, and the home

improvement project, agricultural extension service for rural farm wives, was implemented with hiring and training home improvement workers in 1958 (ORD, 1967). According to the report from the ORD (1967), the purpose of the project was to guide rural farm wives to be a pioneer of modernization of rural life providing them with new knowledge and techniques for development of rural farm living (ORD, 1967). The specific activities of the home improvement project were concerned with domestic work such as economical and comfortable clothes, nutrition and cooking, improvement of kitchen, health management, and child care nurseries (ORD, 1967; Kim, 1994). Furthermore, to disseminate and promote subjects concerned with home improvement, home improvement clubs were organized by home improvement workers, and the target of the clubs were only rural women so they can be considered as gendered organizations. Female only constituted the clubs while male constituted agricultural improvement clubs in general.

The Korean home improvement project was closely linked to the U.S. aid agency in that the U.S. aid agency mainly covered the budget of the project. Besides, the project followed contents of foreign home improvement programs in cooperation with international organizations. According to the ORD (1967), the contents of the training programs for the home improvement workers consisted of just repeating activities and programs of the developed countries, predominantly the United States. In addition, Simons, a member of the team of the University of Minnesota, came to visit a rural area in Korea as a specialist of home improvement project and wrote up a report. In the report, she suggested specific plans to

implement home improvement project (Kim, 1994; Shin, 2000).

However, since the project was implemented without practical advice and support out of the experimental research of the home improvement programs in Korea (ORD, 1967), it did not reflect and meet the substantial demands of rural women in Korea. In the 1950s and 1960s, international development projects for women were based on the Western notion of femininity, rather than on the specific needs of women in the Third World. And this tendency of the time was embedded in the Korean home improvement projects as well. Therefore, it was difficult to apply the contents of the home improvement project to situations of rural women in Korea since there was a limitation not to embrace substantial demands for rural women in the contents of the home improvement project (Kim, 1994).

2) The 4-H club

Rural youth in Korea were educated and trained to be respectable farmers of tomorrow and good citizens under the 4-H idea of developing heart, body for health, heads for knowledge, and hands for labor (ORD, 1967). The 4-H club was first set up in the U.S. as a rural youth guidance program to address the cultural gap between youth in urban and rural areas, and the club has been progressed in a manner to solve the phenomenon of youth alienation and to promote their social rights (Han, 2008). As the U.S. government spread it out to around sixty countries including Korea, it became an international organization (Han, 2008).

Since 4-H club in Korea was initiated in 1947, it has been gradually expanded and developed throughout Korea. The club contributed to

character-building and the teaching of technique and skills for the rural youth of Korea by carrying out several activities, for instance, 4-H project, special public service activities, 4-H contest, 4-H camping program, and training program. (ORD, 1967)

In regard to rural women, the existing literature (Kang, 2016; Kim, 1994) highly rated the 4-H club because it provided rural girls with an opportunity to participate in the official organization for the first time after the liberation from the Japanese colonial rule. The target group of the 4-H club was young men and women in rural areas, and it was recommended organizing the club with both male and female members together (Kim, 1994). Namely, both male and female members were included in one integrated club. Moreover, through the 4-H club activities, young rural women learned new culture and knowledge such as home management knowledge, advanced techniques of domestic works and agricultural production, and they also raised awareness of problems in household and rural community (Kim, 1994). Yet, female members of the 4-H clubs mainly carried out projects related to household works such as cooking, sewing, handicraft, home beautification, clothes making, and childrearing (Kim, 1994; ORD, 1967).

3) Community Development Project

The community development project was promulgated in 1958 to improve living conditions of rural areas concerning socio-economic aspects. The community development project was different from the agricultural extension service in that the former focuses more on communities of rural areas or collective activities, while the latter puts more emphasis on

individual farmer so collective activities were used as a secondary means to enhance a productivity of individual farmers (Lim, 2016).

It can be assumed that the project paid attention to rural women because there were specific contents of its activities aimed at rural women and many women participated in the project in the beginning stage (Kim, 1994). Besides, the female community leader was highly acclaimed at home and abroad, which showed that women actively participated in the project and contributed to operating it. The magazine *New Strength* also provided the example of a successful community development project led by the female leader.⁶

⁶ Issue 31, “The *Gwangdong-ri* village in progress” introduced the success story of the community development project led by the female leader, Kim Yeongja, known for the exemplary community leader in the National Council for Community Development (NACOM).

Chapter III. Contents of Enlightenment for Women

This chapter describes and organizes the findings of the study. To do so, this chapter is divided into two sections. The first section provides an overview of *New Strength*'s publisher, readership, and overall content. The second section categorizes the representations of women in the *New Strength* and explores each type of representation of women.

3.1 Overview of *New Strength*

As mentioned above, before exploring contents of enlightenment for women, this section will give an overview of *New Strength*. First, the section will examine USIS which is in charge of publishing and editing the magazine. Secondly, it will deal with a readership of the magazine, and lastly, it will outline purposes and overall contents of the *New Strength*.

3.1.1 Publisher of *New Strength*, USIS

In addition to the U.S. military, financial, and technical aid toward Korea, the U.S. aid agency actively conducted activities concerning enlightenment activities in the sphere of culture. The U.S aid agency propagated the U.S. culture as the modernized and enlightened culture which other countries needed to follow (Heo, 2004).

It was USIS that played a leading role in building a relationship between the U.S. and Korea in the sphere of culture. Namely, USIS as the U.S. institution executed the U.S. foreign policy, especially cultural diplomacy in the Cold War period (Koh, 2010).

He (the director of USIS in Seoul district) answered the question the reporter asked about the prospect of cultural work. “I think it would be very great. Some people think I just propagate the U.S., but the more important task I have conducted is to enlighten. (The 63rd issue, p.7, ‘Who is it?’)

The above article explains USIS’s activities, and the purpose of its activities: to propagate the U.S. and to enlighten. As such, USIS disseminated the U.S. culture to enlighten Korean people on the premise that the U.S. culture is superior and already enlightened (Heo, 2004).

In cooperation with the other U.S. aid agencies, USIS intended to enlarge the cultural and ideological influence on Korea carrying out culture projects such as making a film, holding an exhibition, publishing a magazine. Notably, in the 1950s and the 1960s, USIS considered rural people as the foundation of Korea economy since the majority of Korean population resided rural areas. That is why rural people became the priority target of USIS activities (Heo, 2004; Koh, 2010).

I think the two Koreas (urban and rural areas) need to recognize the own dignity. The problem does not only belong to Korea. Especially, farmers underestimated themselves. It is important to realize your own position without a tie to ethics or morals. Seoul and rural areas should not be separated. (...)

Moreover, farmers should be aware of their jobs. I heard that “Farmers are the backbone of the country.” Although the saying is

good, they need to think like that themselves. Namely, we need a person who respects him/herself. This is a starting point to integrate the two Koreas into one. (The 63rd issue, p.7, 'Who is it?')

The text above shows that the director of USIS in Seoul district found out the gap between urban areas and rural areas in Korea widened more and more. Besides, he pointed out that a change in farmers' perception was the most important thing to address the problem. It can be inferred from the text that USIS viewed farmers as one of the primary targets of its culture projects to enlighten them.

The major themes USIS intended to deliver to rural people were as follows: the accomplishments of the U.S. civilization, the validity of the U.S. foreign policy, and the ideology of anti-communism. The magazine *New Strength* was one of the media to convey the U.S. cultural themes to rural people in Korea.

3.1.2 Readership of *New Strength*

Before reviewing the contents of the *New Strength*, this section will examine the readership of the magazine because an understanding of the readership would be a significant reference to assume the fundamental characteristic and impact of the magazine.

Since the magazine was basically the farmer's help magazine, its primary readers were naturally those who live and work in rural areas in Korea. Thus, the magazine was written with only *Hangul*, the Korean

alphabet, without using Chinese characters⁷ so that more people could read and understand it.

However, it can be inferred from the high illiteracy rate at that time that only a few literate people could read and comprehend it. The table below shows the estimated rate of illiteracy when USIS published the *New Strength*.

[Table 4] The Estimated Rate of Illiteracy

Age		13-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	Above 55 ages
Male	A	28,092	136,663	112,618	216,672	273,933	471,256
	B	549,794	2,053,848	1,356,953	1,219,846	928,785	902,024
	C(%)	5.11	6.65	8.20	17.76	29.49	52.24
Female	A	66,342	327,727	530,953	646,568	622,832	1,017,162
	B	495,393	2,134,213	1,699,529	1,247,510	916,281	1,149,167
	C(%)	13.39	15.35	31.24	51.29	67.97	88.51

A: numbers of illiterate people in Korea in 1960 (Statistical Korea, Population Census)⁸

B: numbers of population in Korea in 1959 (Statistical Korea, Korea Statistical Year Book)⁹

C: Rate of illiteracy was calculated on the basis of A and B

Two distinct features can be found out through the table above. The first one is that the rate of female illiteracy was even higher than the rate of male

⁷ Considering the Chinese characters were frequently used in most of publications published at that time, only using *Hangul* in the *New strength* identifies its intention to spread it out more widely to Korean people in rural areas.

⁸ Retrieved from

http://kosis.kr/statHtml/statHtml.do?orgId=101&tblId=DT_1SA6003&conn_path=I2

⁹ Retrieved from

http://kosis.kr/statHtml/statHtml.do?orgId=999S&tblId=DT_999S_003060&conn_path=I2

one in all ages. Secondly, the table demonstrates that the rate of illiteracy increased as age grew. Besides, according to the official rate of the illiteracy in 1960, the rate of the illiteracy in rural areas reached 32.3%, and the rate of the female illiteracy in rural areas was 45.5% (Chong, 2007). Considering the previous literature, it can be assumed that the main audience of the magazine was young male farmers in rural areas. It can be confirmed by that the *Sarang-bang* section, the letters to the editor, predominantly consists of letters from young male farmers.

I am currently a freshman at Suncheon high school. I desire to enlighten and develop rural people for my village so that they can actively and brilliantly perform their works. (The 49th issue, p.14, *Sarang-bang*)

I am a 19-year-old boy living in a remote mountain village. I interestingly read the *New Strength* every month through the agricultural extension service center. (The 58th issue, *Sarang-bang*)

I am a young man living in a small village in a mountain where cars are hardly seen. (The 63rd issue, *Sarang-bang*)

All the texts above are a part of letters from young men in rural areas. Indeed, it is assumed that the majority of the letters in the *Sarang-bang* were from male youth in rural areas.

Also, many members of 4-H clubs read the *New Strength*, which can be identified through the letters in *Sarang-bang*.

I participated in the 7th 4-H club contest held in Suwon and won a prize last year. (...) Besides, I have enlightened myself through the *New Strength*. (The 55th issue, *Sarang-bang*)

We boys here organized a new 4-H club. Since we are poor at operating and carrying out the 4-H activities, we want to learn experiences of other 4-H clubs working well through correspondence with them. (The 68th issue, *Sarang-bang*)

On the other hand, although the rate of female illiteracy was high, it can be inferred from the letters in *Sarang-bang* from female readers that literate rural women read the magazine as well and they played a role in conveying its contents to other rural women.

Whenever I get the *New Strength*, I, a little girl, ponder on what I can or have to do for my rural village. And I try to do even a small task. The *New Strength* magazine, which hangs side by side on the wall, always gives me strength and knowledge. (The 65th issue, *Sarang-bang*)

I read well the magazine *New Strength* you sent me every month and learned a lot from it. I believe that it is a good reference for agricultural extension service for rural women. (The 68th, *Sarang-bang*)

The first letter shows the *New Strength* provided young women in rural areas with new knowledge and a sense of duty for a development of a rural village as members of the village. Moreover, it can be confirmed by the second letter that the magazine was used as a guidance book for home improvement clubs for rural women. Furthermore, through a part of the article saying “There was the article concerning washing machine on the 18th issue *New Strength*, so hundreds of readers continue to ask about it”, it can be inferred that plenty of women also subscribed to the magazine.

In summary, although the *New Strength* was written in only Korean letters to enhance readability for rural people, taking into account the high illiteracy rate in rural areas at that time the magazine was mainly subscribed by young male farmers whose illiteracy rate was relatively low. However, the letters in *Sarang-bang* reveal that not only young male farmers but also women in rural areas read the magazine a lot, and they show that the magazine was used in various ways such as a guidance book for 4-H clubs, agriculture improvement clubs, home improvement clubs, and elementary school.

3.1.3 Purposes and Overall Contents of the *New Strength*

The magazine reveals the purposes of its publication through articles. First of all, the first issue of *New Strength* explains the purposes:

The publication has two objectives. The first objective is to deliver the news about scientific development to help farmers and village leaders to increase income and improve a living condition. The

second one is to convey news about the national economic growth, which has a significant meaning for each Korean citizen. (The 1st issue, ‘about the first publication of the *New Strength*’)

Through the above article, it can be identified that the magazine provided rural people with information about how to improve economic and living conditions and news about economic progress in Korea. To be specific, the average issue of *New Strength* consists of “success” stories regarding Korean farmers and farming developments: stories concerned with USOM project/economic growth themes which have some meaning for the farming community; “how-to-do-it” farm articles, and an editorial treating USIS’s objectives such as promotion of democratic concepts and the meaning of American aid (USIS, 1961).

But it is noteworthy that the magazine is based upon the premise that improvement farming and lifestyle means Americanization. Thus, through the magazine, the American chemical farming style using fertilizer, pesticides, and machine and the American lifestyle including the Western gender relations were conveyed to rural people in Korea. Furthermore, the magazine features articles dealing with democracy which is a fundamental social system of the U.S. to create understanding of democratic process and concept.

Besides, given that the *New Strength* was published and edited by USIS in charge of culture projects, it can be easily assumed that the magazine played a role in disseminating the U.S. culture. The below article confirms it.

We are trying to promote the communication between people from Korea and the U.S. across the ocean and continent overcoming the cultural barrier through the magazine. The *New Strength* is published not only to inform farmers of further improved farming methods but also to enhance international mutual understanding. (...) Concerning the relationship between Korea and the U.S., this situation appears to be even more intensified because of the threat of invasion of communist North Korea. (The 61st issue, p.2, ‘The human friendship’)

The above article shows that the *New Strength* played a role in not only delivering new information and knowledge but also facilitating mutual understanding between the U.S. and Korea.

Yet, even though the magazine was published to foster “international mutual understanding,” the magazine unilaterally featured articles which described the U.S. as an ideal society. Namely, they were leaning toward constructing the positive image of the U.S. by conveying stories about the U.S. advanced techniques, rich city, and ordinary American family’s affluent daily life. In addition, by delivering stories about the U.S. aid to Korea on every issue of the *New Strength*, the image of the U.S. was solidified as a supporter of Korean economic development, modernization of social system, and lifestyle.

It is also noticeable that another rationale for fostering mutual understanding between the two countries was to keep guard against a threat of invasion of North Korea. Since the fundamental objective of the U.S. foreign policies was to prevent the communist camp from enlarging its

influence, there was an article concerning the anti-communist on almost every issue of the magazine. The articles show, by example, the fate of the farmer under communism and emphasize, in contrast, the advantage of a democratic system.

To sum up of the objective of the *New Strength* and its contents, the magazine was published to provide rural people with helpful information for economic development and to share the news of the Korean economic development situation. In addition, in response to the threat of North Korea, the magazine was also published under the objective to promote friendly relations between the U.S. and Korea. As a result, the publication mainly featured information about modern farming methods represented as the American farming style, side-works to earn extra income, and improvement of a lifestyle of a village and household. Also, as the Korean society was gradually transformed into an industrial country, the magazine featured how the Korea economy had been developed by offering articles about the industry sector. Lastly, it featured the American culture and the U.S aid projects for the Korea society, so it functioned to build positive relations between the two countries.

As such, the *New Strength* provided not only substantive information for agriculture economic development but also information on the U.S. aid projects and the Korean economic development situation. Therefore, this study will examine what information and knowledge USIS intended to deliver to rural women in Korea through the magazine. In order to do so, the next section will explore how women are represented in the magazine by conducting the qualitative content analysis.

3.2 Contents of Enlightenment by Four Types of Women

When it comes to writing a text, it is indispensable to bear in mind its readers. When the purpose of writing is to enlighten readers, the content and features of text will vary depending on the readers.

Therefore, to examine U.S. enlightenment content for women and the women represented in *New Strength*, it is imperative to understand from which perspective its publisher viewed women. Thus, the representations of women in the magazine are analyzed and categorized into four different types: housewife, member of a democracy, laborer, and leader. Based on the four types, the content of enlightenment is explored in each type of representation.

3.2.1 Women as Housewives

In the magazine *New Strength*, most information and knowledge for women was primarily concerned with domestic work. The terminology used most frequently to indicate women in the publication included *rural housewife*, *housewife*, *farming housewife*, *mother*, and *wife*.¹⁰ This reveals that role of rural women was primarily recognized as housewife in charge of homemaking and caregiving.

In the *New Strength*, information and knowledge for rural women as housewives mainly covers household work regarding food, clothing, shelter, and childrearing.

¹⁰ Housewife, as a gendered term, refers to women. At the same time, it is a family term in that it relates to women's status in the family system. The word *housewife* is closely associated with a private space and household work in English (Park, 2010).

1) Improvement of food

First, content concerning improvement of food takes up the largest part of the content of enlightenment for rural women in the magazine. Moreover, because food has a serious impact on the formation of individual and national identity (Carolan, 2012; Kim, 2013), the content about the improvement of food covers more than mere nutritional information.

What you eat is you! If you meticulously ponder on the statement, you will realize that it is true. Thanks to food, we have grown taller, weighted heavier, and developed our brain since we were born. (The 10th issue, p.12, ‘what do we eat every day?’)

This statement explains the importance of food. As the sentence “What you eat is you!” implies, food is a significant element to build an individual’s identity. Not only that, but it has a huge influence on the formation of collective identities, like regional and national identities (Carolan, 2012; Kim, 2013). Thus, every country makes use of food to construct a connection the past with the present (Carolan, 2012). Given the significance of food, it can be inferred that delivering the dietary information based on American dietary culture was intended not only to change diets but also to exert the U.S.’s influence on the process of reconstruction of Korea as a modernized nation.

A distinct feature of the article dealing with dietary improvement is that the information is based on the Western home economics discipline and its

sub-branches, especially nutrition.

Vegetables include Vitamin which keeps people from getting a disease, fiber which helps to digest, and mineral which makes bone stronger and blood clear. (The 40th issue, p.5, 'Vegetable Recipe')

A vegetable is an essential food among what we eat. This is because vegetable contains several vitamins that are necessary for physical growth and that we cannot get from rice or fish. (The 30th issue, p.13, 'Vegetable Recipes You Should Know')

The above two articles recommend intake of vegetables on the grounds of scientific nutrition knowledge, explaining the functions of nutrients such as vitamins, fiber, and minerals. It encourages planning a systematic and balanced diet, taking into account the nutrients of foods, which reveals that the knowledge of home economics had an influence on the magazine and that rural women were encouraged to carry out domestic work in scientific and reasonable ways.

Another feature of the articles about an improvement of dietary life is a focus on relatively unfamiliar ingredients and on recipes using them, rather than traditional Korean ingredients.

Because of the strange smell of a carrot, it was not well suited to our national diet as well as it could not be cooked deliciously through our traditional recipes. As a result, most households had not consumed it. However, as a nutrient of foods has been emphasized

these days and improvement of dietary life becomes a social issue, its recipes are developed, and demands of carrots gradually increase. (The 54th, p.12, 'Cultivation of Carrots')

In most cases, rabbits are raised to sell their pelts, but there are many times not to use their meats for cooking at home. However, many countries, especially Germany, have made a stew with hare meat. The Institute of Agriculture in Suwon and the department of domestic science of U.S. aid agency introduce hare meat recipes as follows. (The 35th, p.12, 'Delicious Rabbit Food')

These days, a new and delicious food has come into Korea from a foreign country. The food called 'Aera' is a grateful food to increase the income of Korean farmers in the future. (...) This new food is easy to store and preserve, does not change quickly, and does not get rats or worms. Its price is also lower than most foods, its taste is good, and it is nutritious. (The 7th, p. 1, 'The Cheap and Tasty New Food')

The first and the second articles introduce unfamiliar food ingredients to Korean farmhouses, like carrots and hare meat. The last article presents the new food imported to Korea as aid. In short, the articles show that dietary improvement project was based on new ingredients and recipes, rather than traditional Korean ingredients.

This phenomenon can be explained in connection with the time period. The Korean agriculture sector was industrialized at that time, and the cultivation of cash crops such as vegetables and fruits rapidly increased.

Thus, in response to the increase in production of cash crops, it was necessary to boost consumption of them to maintain a balance between supply and demand. In this regard, it can be assumed that the magazine delivered information on nutrition and recipes of cash crops to the rural women who chiefly took care of the food to promote more consumption of cash crops.

The rural economy has been gradually being transformed from barter economy system into a monetary economic system. Demands for chemical fertilizers, modern farm machinery, and other urban industrial products have been increased, leading to growing demand for currency. In other words, the number of a farmhouse which devotes to livestock, forage crops, and vegetables, which can be sold immediately by cash, has been increasing day by day. (The 70th, p.8, ‘Not Only Rice’)

The above article explains that the production of livestock, forage crops, and cash crops increased as the need for currency grew due to the industrialization of agriculture. Thus, it can be inferred that articles about recipes and nutrients of cash crops were provided to rural women to change the food consumption model in accordance with the increase of production of these cash crops.

In addition, *New Strength* introduced new ingredients closely linked to U.S. food aid under PL480. A massive quantity of agricultural surpluses was brought to Korea as part of PL480 (Kim, 2013). Moreover, since food aid was a crucial strategy for the U.S. and Korean governments in economic and

political aspects, the consumption of food aid was a key factor for them to execute their own strategies. Through the aid, the U.S. government intended to increase the consumption of U.S. agricultural commodities in foreign countries, resulting in enlarging the U.S. food market and improving foreign relations (McMichael, 2012). On the other hand, the Korean government sought to develop the food processing industry which used U.S. grain surpluses, so the government led an active campaign to promote the consumption of flour-based foods (Kim, 2013). Therefore, it can be assumed that the magazine articles might intend to encourage rural women to consume U.S. agriculture surpluses by providing relevant nutritional information and recipes to promote consumption.

Lastly, the scientific basis of home economics offered rationales to consume the new ingredients and use the new recipes.

In terms of nutrition and health, the phenomenon (imports of unfamiliar food) is necessary. For example, wheat contains far more nutrients to help physical growth. (The 70th, p.8, 'Not only Rice')

This statement notes that wheat is superior to rice in terms of nutrition. As such, the articles regarding improvement of food recommend the unfamiliar food ingredients and recipes on the basis of home economics. Namely, it implies that a western diet is nutritionally superior to the Korean diet (Kim, 2013). However, the scientific basis of the argument is highly questionable, since these days, Korean food, especially local Korean food, is reappraised as desirable food and an alternative model for the future from

the nutritional and ecological perspective (Kim, 2013).

2) Improvement of clothing



<Figure 1>

Child in the Western Style clothes (The 9th issue, p.6, 'Make a Baby's Clothes')

Article titles like “An Apron Having Two Functions,” “Let’s Make a Cheap Raincoat,” and “Making Warm and Looking-good Winter-Cap and Gloves,” indicate that content concerning clothing improvement mainly featured how to make economical and comfortable clothes. It is also notable

that the style of clothing that the magazine suggested

as economical and practical clothing followed

Western style. In other words, the Western style of

clothing represented modernization in *New Strength*.

Depending on their style, people in the magazine’s pictures can distinguish those who were modernized

from those who were not. For example, in the article

“Better than a Man,” a grandmother represents a traditional pre-modern woman wearing the traditional

Korean style of clothing, while her granddaughter

represents a modern woman wearing the Western style

of clothing. The different clothing styles between the

two women clearly reveal the distinction between a pre-modern woman and

a modern one. Thus, it can be inferred that as Western clothing style was

correlated with modernization, people sought to follow Westernized

fashions.

The clothes recommended in the magazine changed not only in style but



<Figure 2>

Different styles of clothes women from different generations (The 72nd issue, p.5, 'Better than Men')

also in material as well. Traditionally, only cotton and silk had been used as a clothing material, but this was soon diversified by importing new clothing materials like artificial fibers and knits (Lee, 1996). Thus, it can be considered that the change in clothing fabric reflected in the article “Washing a Knitwear” was done to introduce management techniques for these fabrics. The changes in the form and material of clothing accelerated further as the textile industry became the primary Korean export industry with the cotton and industrial raw material introduced from the U.S. as part of its aid.

Another feature identified in the magazine articles concerning clothing improvement is that U.S. aid agents made an effort to lessen the burden on rural women’s household work by devising and introducing the washing machine.

Two U.S. aid agents in Washington researched on a washing machine for housewives who had a lot of works to do laundry with less power. (The 17th, p.5, ‘A New Simple Washing Machine’)



<Figure 3>
Washing machine
(The 47th issue, p.12, ‘Washing Machine Easy to Make’)

As the above article explains, aid officials studied washing machines, and their design and introduction were technical aid activities. Considering that doing laundry was regarded as the hardest of household work, it is meaningful that U.S. aid officials sought to simplify and facilitate women’s domestic labor through the research and development of the washing machine. In

the meantime, rural women in Korea also had plenty of interest in washing machines, as shown in "Easy to Make Washing Machine." It states that "there was the article concerning washing machine on the 18th *New Strength*, so hundreds of readers continue to ask about it." However, a lot of materials and skills were needed to produce and use a washing machine, and it was hard to obtain them in rural areas of Korea in the 1950s and 1960s. For this reason, the technical aid of the washing machine was seen by women as irrelevant to their lives.

3) Improvement of residential environment

The articles about the improvement of residential environment primarily focus on improvement of the kitchen. Since residential space, especially kitchen, was traditionally regarded as a private sphere and women's place, the enhancement of the residential environment was closely associated with women's lives.

Since housewives should repeat to sit down and stand up hundreds of times, they were exhausted at night. These are unnecessary additional hard works. If a height of a kitchen stove is at a height of a women's waist, they can prepare for food standing up and taking no pains. (The 12th issue, p.6, 'A Convenient Kitchen')

According to the articles in the magazine, the improvement of the kitchen meant that the traditional Korean style of a kitchen, which served to cook and heat at the same time, was transformed into the Western style of a kitchen that separated these functions. Like other home improvement

projects, the improvement projects of the residential environment were synonymous with change in a Westernized way.

The shapes of a Western house and an Eastern House become similar.

The houses recently constructed in Seoul look very similar to the modern American houses. (The 13th issue, p.12, 'Cultural Exchange between the West and the East')

The above article points out that the shape of Western and Eastern houses became more and more similar as a result of their influence of each other. However, the article mainly notes the advantages of the Western style of house, and states that newly built houses in Korea follow the Western style. Namely, it shows the profound influence of the U.S. on Korean residential conditions. Moreover, the paternalistic perspective, which corresponds to a view of women from the welfare approach, is embedded in the magazine articles. Accordingly, they state that changes to the kitchen are intended to ease the burdens of housewives' domestic labors. In fact, the paternalistic perspective was prevalent at that time in the U.S., as seen in the comments of then-vice president Richard Nixon: "I think that this attitude toward women is universal. What we want is to make easier the life of our housewives." Under the influence of the prevailing perspective toward women in the U.S., there were many articles in the magazine



<Figure 4>
Image of Korean housewife (The 13th issue, p.12, 'Cultural Exchange between the West and the East')

that introduced how to make the lives of housewives easier. In addition, there is a picture in the publication showing the design of a modern house and depicting a Korean woman who looks like a typical American housewife, reinforcing the idea that women are in charge of the private sphere according to the Western notion of gender roles.

4) Improvement of Childrearing

Childrearing was considered the most important role for women in Western industrial society, and it was attributed to maternal instinct, the underlying assumption of which was that all men are naturally incapable of nurturing children, while women were incapable of heavy work (Rogers, 1989). Although the reverse was applied in many other societies, the assumption was disseminated through international development projects led by Western countries. In this context, since the magazine was published by USIS, it featured articles for women covering how to carry out mothering roles. In fact, the mother identity seems to precede the self-identity for women in the magazine.

Development and health of women's breast are not only critical for physical beauty, but more importantly, they are closely related to children's health. For this reason, it is necessary to pay close attention to women's breast, and sometimes it becomes a medical treatment issue. (The 44th issue, p.3, 'Let's Protect Women's Breast Impacting on the Health of Mother and Child')

The above article explains the importance of protection of women's

breasts, the rationale being that they are connected to both physical beauty and children's health. In other words, according to the article, women's breasts must be protected because of their aesthetic value and their role in the fulfillment of women's roles as mothers, rather than because of women's health itself. This shows that women were represented as mothers rather than as independent agents.

The distinct characteristic of motherhood identified in the magazine is that it was largely influenced by home economics and maternal deprivation which refers to that if a mother does not provide her children with constant attention throughout the day, and especially during the first few years after birth, then children will suffer. After World War II, maternal deprivation was dominant in the U.S. to make women who were involved in economic activities and the work force during wartime turn back to their homes (Rogers, 1989). Influenced by maternal deprivation, the articles in *New Strength* mainly feature information on how to nurture babies. In addition, those who take care of babies were always portrayed as women.

As the importance of home economics derived from the U.S. grew, a scientific model of motherhood equipped with home economics knowledge was emphasized in *New Strength* :

Although breastfeeding is good for a baby, you had better feed other foods to baby five months after birth. It would be good to start with tomato, apple juice, and rice water, so gradually feed them new food. From the first eight to nine months of age, feed them meat soup, rice water, spinach, and egg soup. Between nine months to ten months, they can eat rice porridge, fish or potato. (The 7th issue, p.9, 'How to

Raise a Child’)

The above article provides information about how to fix a meal for a baby in accordance with the baby’s growth. It takes into account the necessary nutrients and encourages women to fulfill their roles based on scientific and professional knowledge.

It is also notable that child care nurseries were promoted in the articles concerning child-rearing. Although their establishment and operation were confined to women’s work, it is meaningful that childcare issues were regarded as private and in need of solutions derived from cooperation with others at the local level.

All the farm wives know how hard childcare is during the farming season. (...) After striving to find a solution to this problem, a child care nursery where busy farm wives can leave children all day was set up. (The 51st, p.6, ‘Child Care Nursery for Farm Wives and Children’)

The article above introduces a child care nursery as a solution to address the difficulties of childcare for rural women taking part in agricultural production activities. Setting up a child care nursery was noteworthy in its attempts to solve child care problems normally regarded as private through local joint efforts. Furthermore, the necessity of these nurseries reveals that rural women actively participated in agricultural production activities in addition to household work.

5) Guidance on domestic labor

New Strength conveyed information and knowledge concerning domestic work to rural women. At the same time, the information and knowledge were also transferred through a variety of guidance works for rural women, and the magazine introduced the guidance works as well. U.S. aid played a pivotal role in guidance works for rural women, which can be divided into three different activities. The first is education activities about home improvement disseminated through official education institutions.

At present, the issue about training of home economics teacher is paid close attention (....) The home economics is incorporated into a regular subject in the Institute of Agriculture in Suwon. (The 2nd issue, p.5, 'The Emphasis on Home Economics in Rural Schools')

There are thirty-two female students for now, but in the future, more female students will enter into the Home Economic department which is recently set up. (The 30th, p.4, 'The Suwon Agriculture College Serving the Country')

The above two texts display that home economics was introduced as an official subject and that the need for female education grew. However, considering that the majority of rural women were not be highly educated at that time, those who could receive higher education were confined to a limited number of rural women. Despite this limitation, as a small number of female students who had received the education became home improvement agents, they played a crucial role in transferring knowledge

and information about home improvement to the majority of rural women.

The most popular guidance work regarding home improvement was the enlightenment activity led by home improvement workers in rural extension service centers.

More than a half of rural guidance offices have home improvement workers who instruct housewives in cooking, health, hygiene, and childrearing. (The 36th issue, p.12, 'Gun Rural Guidance Office Working for Farmers')

As the above text describes, home improvement agents conducted various guidance works targeted at rural women on the premise that they were full-time housewives. Thus, the contents of the guidance works were mostly confined to stereotypical household task categories such as cooking, clothing, health, and childrearing. It is also notable that U.S. aid deeply engaged in the operation of home improvement projects, which can be confirmed by the magazine articles.

The studies on cooking, nutrition, child rearing, improvement of living condition, clothing, and hygiene were included in the training. The technicians from the U.S. aid agency directly supervised the basic training which was better than any other country. (The 11th, p.12, 'The Woman Who Brings Good Luck')

It can be identified through the above article that USIS supervised the education and training of home improvement agents. In addition to the

training, the majority of the budget of the project came from U.S. financial assistance. Furthermore, U.S. involvement in the project can be confirmed in that the specific direction of the home improvement project was set and refined according to the suggestions proposed the home economics department at Minnesota University (Shin, 2000).

At that time, as most international projects targeted at women were based on home economics, and the home improvement workers in Korea were trained by U.S. aid agents, the Korean home improvement project was also strongly influenced by home economics.

She feels proud of herself when village wives who are much older than her ask about how to cook and childcare, and at the same time she realizes that the various knowledge she had learned was used a lot. She had studied home economics for two years in the teacher training school of the agriculture college of Seoul National University after graduating from Seoul Ewha high school. (The 11th, p.12, ‘The Woman Who Brings Good Luck’)

The above article introduces one of the home improvement agents, and describes how she transferred the knowledge of home economics that she had accumulated for two years in a higher educational institution to rural village women. It also shows that a young woman who had learned home economics for two years was recognized as an expert in the field of domestic labors while other rural women who had accumulated hands-on experiences for a longer time were not. It can be inferred from the text that knowledge of U.S. home economics was regarded as superior to Korean

indigenous knowledge regarding domestic work. However, considering that much literature (Buvinić, 1986; Germain, 1976; Rogers, 1989; Shin, 2000) pointed out that home improvement projects for Third World women did not fulfill women's needs because they were based only on the notion of Western gender relations, it is questionable how useful and relevant these home improvement projects were in Korea.

Lastly, USIS also emphasized the 4-H club as a way to instruct rural women on how to improve living conditions. Since the target population of the 4-H club included both male and female rural youth in Korea, there were some activities aimed primarily at female members of the 4-H club.

Also, Ms. Ahn guided 4-H club activities for girls in fourteen Guns she was in charge, and she helped village women to organize clubs.
(The 11th, p.12, 'The Woman Who Brings Good Luck')

The above text identifies that one of the home improvement agent's tasks was to instruct female members of 4-H clubs. Since home improvement agents played a role in transferring home economics knowledge to rural women with the underlying assumption that their roles were similar to those of Western housewives, it can be assumed that they instructed female members of 4-H clubs in the same kinds of subject matter. In addition, the article "I Am Your Grandfather," which introduces the founding of 4-H in Korea, states that a sewing machine and household appliance were bought from the U.S. for female members. It shows that female members of 4-H clubs were taken into account but still viewed as stereotypical housewives

based on the Western gender division of labor.

3.2.2 Women as Members of a Democracy

As one of the ultimate goals of USIS was to spread democracy, the intention was constantly applied to the projects led by USIS such as the community development projects and the 4-H club. Various media like periodicals, pamphlets, books, films, and radio served to disseminate democratic concepts and procedures widely to Korean society. The magazine also played a role in spreading knowledge and information necessary for members of a democracy. USIS's intention to spread democratic concepts and procedures can be confirmed in the magazine through an interview article with the director of USIS in the Seoul district. In the article, he clarifies that "education included not only writing and reading but also fostering good citizens (The 63rd issue, p.7, 'Who is it?')."

The unifying characteristic of the articles concerning democracy is that they put a great emphasis on the individual, emphasizing that all members of a democracy must be equal and mutually respected. The following articles demonstrates this:

American democracy is basically a mindset and all the American citizens' mindset. The mindset refers to all people equally precious. (The 19th issue, p.8, 'The Power of America, Democracy')

In a democratic country, no one is excluded and rejected. (The 38th issue, p.2, 'Self-determination, Autonomy, and Democracy')

Democracy begins with a single individual, unit, and soul. It claims that each has its own unique dignity and value. (The 66th, p.2, ‘What is Democracy?’)

The discussion of democracy naturally led to a discussion of equality between men and women; highlighting the individual included women as members of a democratic country. Thus, the magazine features content concerning the expansion of educational opportunity for women and women’s participation in basic democratic procedures like elections and meetings.

The school principal, director of the cultural institution, Mr. Lee Gyeongu helps students whenever he has time, on the premise of democracy that education must be equal to all people regardless as to whether female or male and the rich or the poor. (The 23rd issue, p.2, ‘The Free Middle School in *Samcheok*’)

The above text is part of an article introducing a night school run by the cultural center in *Samcheok*. The coeducational night school was operated based on the underlying democratic assumption that education must be equal to all people, which reflected an increase in the need for education for women in accordance with the introduction of democracy. *New Strength* provided articles introducing the definition and process of democracy to rural people in Korea. As the democratic premise of equality for all is reflected in the articles, the articles depict women as active participants in the democratic process.

No matter who is male or female, every village people older than 21-year-old can present their opinions about the construction of the new school and has the right to vote. (...)

The first presenter argued that the current tax was already demanding, so he suggested trying to receive funds for the construction from the government. Having a different opinion, John's mother asserted that it would take a long time and not guarantee a success, and in the meanwhile, the school would become more complicated, and students would have difficulties in education. (...) The committee consisting of five members was organized to help the village leader and the school principal to choose a site of the new school, to design, and to select a construction contractor. John's mother was elected one of committee members, and the person against an increase in tax was also elected to monitor the use of money in an appropriate manner. (The 18th issue, p.8, 'The Village Meeting')

The above article, one of a series articles introducing the daily lives in an ordinary American farmhouse, describes the meeting of the U.S. rural village. It is remarkable that the article shows women's active participation in the village meeting by stating that women have an equal right to vote, and that John's mother strongly voices her opinion and engages in the committee.

Mrs. John always respected her father-in-law, and specially when it comes to political issues, she usually follows his opinion. However, since she thought that the county office was not fair concerning the allocation of the education budget, she supported the opposing

candidate in the election of a superintendent of education. (The 23rd issue, p.4, 'The Election Day')

The text above features how the ordinary American rural family attended the election. In the article, Mrs. John exercised the right to vote just like her father-in-law and husband. In regard to education matters, she made a decision according to her own subjectivity. Thus, the article presents that women also played a pivotal role in determining the future of the country with their subjectivity as equal members of the democracy.

However, there is a limitation in that women are described as those who follow the opinions of male members of the family ("when it comes to political issues she usually follows his opinion"). Another limitation of the articles is that the women's interests were primarily confined to certain issues typically regarded as women's purview, like education. The way of addressing women in a public place is the last limitation. Women were addressed with objectified terms such as *John's mother* and *John's wife*, while men were called their own names.

New Strength sought to enlighten rural people about democracy by providing articles dealing with the meaning of democracy and introducing democratic procedures in ordinary American farmhouses. In addition, USIS introduced and supported the 4-H club in Korean rural areas.

A military administration adviser, Charles A. Anderson, explained how 4-H clubs were operated in other countries, saying "I advised military officers to organize 4-H clubs in the province to educate democracy to men and women in rural areas." (The 49th issue, p.10,

‘Rural Areas and 4-H Clubs’)

The text above reveals that one of the fundamental aims of 4-H club activities was to disseminate democracy to men and women in rural areas. Based on this aim, 4-H clubs were conducted following the principles of democracy, and rural women were naturally included as members of the 4-H clubs on the premise of the fundamental democratic principle of equality for all individuals. In other words, the targets of the 4-H clubs were men and women in rural areas, and the clubs were organized so that both male and female members were included in one integrated club.

In terms of the specific activities of 4-H clubs, there were meetings, projects, contests, and camps that provided rural men and women with opportunities to take part in democratic activities.

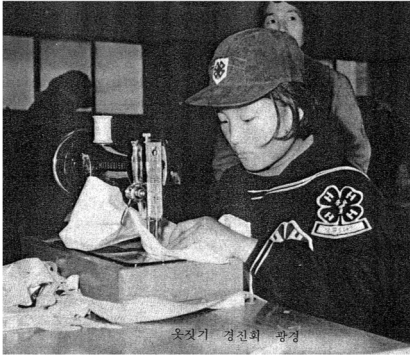
The 4-H club project refers to an assignment which members selects and accomplishes. 4-H club members are required to select one or more projects which related to farming, ways of living, or environment of rural areas each year and accomplish these projects. (The 44th issue, p.8, ‘4-H Project’)

While members are making a plan and implementing their own projects, they are required to gain new knowledge and new skills for sure. Also, they can gain opportunities to taste a pleasure of responsibility for income and expenditure and to be trained to build a healthy life plan. (The 44th issue, p.8, ‘4-H Project’)

Let's have one or three people present their project at the 4-H club monthly meeting. It is conducted to exchange knowledge between members and to improve the presentation ability through the presentation of the progress of their project or new insights acquired during or after the project. (The 44th issue, p.8 '4-H project')

The first text introduces the 4-H project, explaining that it is an assignment related to farming, household work, or village life that all 4-H members could select and accomplish by their own efforts during the terms of club enrollment. The second text describes the purpose of the 4-H project. The 4-H project encouraged members to create and accomplish their plans by themselves, promoting self-determination and learning. The last text recommends that members present their projects at monthly 4-H club meetings to share new knowledge with other members and to conduct an evaluation of the project. As confirmed by the texts, while selecting and carrying out their own 4-H projects, 4-H club members could develop independent spirit, acquire new knowledge, and improve their public speaking skills.

Other 4-H activities, including meetings and contests, were also helpful for 4-H members to learn democratic procedures and enhance the ability to express their own opinions. All the activities would be meaningful experiences for both male and female members, but considering that women's involvement in public activities was limited at that time as a result of the traditional patriarchal system that still existed in rural areas, 4-H club experiences could be more meaningful for female members.



<Figure 5>
Female member participating in the
4-H contest

However, the projects and contests that female members of 4-H clubs were mostly engaged in were confined to matters related to domestic labors such as cooking, sewing, handicrafts, and vegetable storage. This

shows that there was an inherent limitation in that new knowledge and skills about farming

and household works were transferred in a gender-biased way. In short, although 4-H clubs endeavored to follow democratic procedures, they failed to actualize the underlying assumption of democracy that everyone is equal: The substantial activities of 4-H clubs were still implemented in a gender-biased way.

3.2.3 Women as Laborers

As pointed out by previous studies, rural women were primarily involved in economic activities in the 1950s and the 1960s, which was reflected in the articles of *New Strength* as well. Women as laborers in the sphere of production are divided into two types of laborers in the magazine: agricultural laborers and manufacturing laborers. This connects with the situation of the time, in which a mother was responsible for the support of the rest of family members owing to the absence of a father in many households (Bae, 2004; Lee, 2003c).

As industrialization gradually progressed, farmers moved to the urban areas where manufacturing factories were mainly located to look for better jobs, leading to a shortage of laborers in rural areas.

As the industrialization process is in progress, the urban areas develop, and the number of farmers absolutely and relatively decreases, it is an indispensable phenomenon to import wheat including other unfamiliar food. (The 70th, p.8, 'Not only Rice')

The above text notes that there was no choice but to import food from foreign countries because of a shortage of agricultural labor resulting from the progress of industrialization and rural exodus. As a consequence of a lack of laborers in rural areas, women who left participated in agricultural production more and more to supplement the scarcity of the workforce.

It was going well in 1961 when the *New Strength* first visited Mrs. Kim, but everything was better in 1962. Mrs. Kim newly bought the land of 2000-*pyeong* on the hill below the ranch and grew rice there. 15 percent increased the amount of production from milk cows. (The 61st issue, p.8, 'Looking for Old Friends')

The above text is a part of the article introducing successful farmers. The article reports again the news of Kim JeongGyu, who was introduced in the article "Heroine Pioneering Wasteland." It is notable that a reader of the magazine asked about her address in the letters to the editor, which shows that her success story garnered attention from readers of the magazine. Her farming stories presented the possibility that women were also able to accomplish remarkable results in the agriculture field.

However, even though the majority of rural women took part in agricultural production activities at that time, it was only Mrs. Kim who was



<Figure 6>
Woman working in the agricultural production sector (The 65th issue, p.14 'Utilization of Labor Force in Agricultural Off Farming Season')

directly depicted as a female farmer in the magazine. All images of the farmers in the magazine featured male farmers except for the pictures of Mrs. Kim. Still, it can be inferred from the content of the articles in *New Strength* that women were involved in agricultural production.

For example, the articles that recommend setting up childcare nurseries because rural women were busy farming proved that women participated in

agricultural production activities. In addition, "Utilization of Labor Force in Agricultural Off Farming Season" states that every household has a workforce equivalent to 2.8 persons when the family work force was converted into an adult work force. This shows that the agricultural labor force included women by calculating the workforce based on a family unit. In short, it can be assumed that women were also recognized as a human resource of the agricultural sector.

As implied in many articles, women also carried out farming work, but enlightenment activities regarding new farming methods were almost exclusively targeted at male farmers.

Organization of the 2,538 rural improvement clubs for adults in the countryside. Club leaders learn refined farming methods from extension service workers and teach members of their club. For farm

wives, the club provides advice on health, hygiene, and skills to build a house. (The 37th issue, p.3, 'Development of Rural Areas in Korea')

The above text is a part of an article introducing methods of sustainable development for Korean agriculture, and it was clearly intended to instruct rural women in subject matters related to household work rather than modern farming methods. Namely, the agricultural extension service was carried out in a gender-biased way in that women were chiefly taught about household work for subsistence production, such as cooking, childcare, and sewing, while men were mainly taught about modern agricultural methods contributing to increasing their productivity. The phrase "The advice of agricultural improvement workers is like money," graces the back cover of the nineteenth issue of the magazine, showing that the extension service concerning farming methods and machinery was directly linked to raising income. It was intended to have an influence on agricultural productivity and the socio-economic status of agricultural laborers, particularly in a time when an agricultural economy was being transformed into a monetary economy. Therefore, taking the significance of the agricultural extension service into account, it can be assumed that the gender-biased agricultural extension service defined a sharper distinction between the gender divisions of labor without consideration of realities, and deteriorated gender inequality in agricultural productivity.

In the meantime, as industrialization was in progress, many people in rural areas, particularly young single women, moved to urban areas to earn money. They were principally incorporated into a manufacturing industry as

unskilled laborers, and they suffered from heavy workloads, poor working conditions, and extremely low wages.

However, the articles of *New Strength* describe the lives of female factory laborers in a beautified way.

For those who are working at the factory, they are provided with dormitory in addition to salary. Also, for their recreation, the company built a big auditorium and showed USIS film. The workers gain a free meal and medical service in the infirmary. (The 7th issue, p.4, 'Providing Employees with Recreation Facilities')

The workers were given a considerable amount of wage and excellent working condition compared to those of foreign countries. (The 36th, p.9, 'The Nylon Factory Contributing to the Spinning Industry')



<Figure7>

Factory female workers taking a rest in the yard (The 7th issue, p.3, 'The Symbol of Korean development, the Korean Textile Industry')

These articles assume that all female factory workers were in superior working conditions. In fact, all the articles about working conditions in factories were inclined to

describe the lives of female factory laborers in a sanitized way. Because of this, the articles may have functioned as a pull factor for rural women to engage in industry, as seen in a letter that a female reader sent to the editor in order to inquire whether she could get a job in the textile factory that the

magazine introduced in a previous issue.

Another feature of female factory workers is that their roles contradicted with the perception of modern gender division of labor that was embedded in the magazine. According to the gender division of labor, women were solely in charge of reproduction work in the private sphere, but female factory workers carried out production labor in the public sphere, just like male workers. To address this contradiction, patriotism was employed in the magazine to offer a rationale for women's participation in productive public work.

How can the young girl quickly come up with saying like 'duty to the country'? (...) Youngrim probably does not know the meaning of her task, but it is a work for Korea since it contributes to saving a considerable amount of foreign currency by producing needles which had to be imported from Japan each year. (The 72nd issue, p.5, 'Better than a Man')

As stated by the text above, a woman's participation in public labor was regarded as a duty to devote herself to national economic development by saving foreign currency. In addition, previous studies pointed out that female laborers played a pivotal role in the progress of industrialization in Korea (Kim, 2003; Kim, 1994). Korea had a comparative advantage in price competition through cheap labor, and the female labor force was a primary source of the cheap labor.

In the factory, there are 270 male workers and 1170 female workers.

(The 7th issue, p.3, ‘The Symbol of Korean development, the Korean Textile Industry’)

She gets along with all the 600 female factory workers. (...) In the textile company, there are around 100 male factory workers. (The 55th, p. 8, ‘The Rural Woman Coming to a Textile Company’)

The two texts above display that female workers took up a large proportion of the labor force in factories compared to male workers. In short, as identified by the texts, a significant number of women engaged in the industrial sector, and their labor force could be regarded as the bedrock of a labor-intensive industry.

However, their contributions were not fully acknowledged. They were regarded as easily-replaceable temporary and secondary workers. Furthermore, there is no reference in the magazine that technical education institutes carried out training programs for women related to the industrial sector. Students of the comprehensive high school founded with financial and technical support from USIS were mainly male. While male students chose majors in agriculture, industry, or business, and learned knowledge and skills according to their majors, female students were predominantly involved in the home economics major, learning knowledge and skills relevant household works. Thus, it can be inferred that technical education institutions also carried out training activities on the premise of the gender division of labor, and this gender-biased technical education led female laborers to be marginalized as unskilled laborers in industrial production.

Most male workers are skilled workers who have dependent family members while working women are single ones, and unskilled or less-skilled workers using free dormitory in the factory. (The 36th, p.9, ‘The Nylon Factory Contributing to the Spinning Industry’)

As stated by the text above, female workers tended to be incorporated in the industrial field as unskilled or less-skilled workers. One of the reasons for this might be the unequal distribution of knowledge and skills due to the gender-biased technical education. In addition, the recognition of gender relations, in which men were considered sole breadwinners and women the unmarried or secondary supporters, brought about wage discrimination in the labor market: Men’s wages were seen as essential for livelihood and women’s as secondary and supplementary.

But female workers from rural areas contributed not only to the development of Korea’s export-oriented industry but also to farmhouses’ economies by sending their wages to their families in the countryside (Kim, 1994). It was common for young rural women working in Korean factories to earn tuition fees for their male relatives. This can be found out in the articles of the *New Strength* as well.

In order to support the younger brother’s tuition fees, she ponders on how much she needs to save in salary. (The 55th, p. 8, ‘The Rural Woman Coming to a Textile Company’)

The articles of *New Strength* directly and indirectly identify that women engaged in economic activities as farmers or factory workers, but it

was rare to see training or education programs for working women in the public sphere. This gender-biased enlightenment activity could have led women to be marginalized in the public production field.

3.2.4 Women as Leaders

The last type of female representation in the magazine is the female leader who succeeded in her own field in the public sphere. “The Woman Who Breaks the Old Prejudice” shows that these women appear in the magazine as recognized as socially competent and having broken the stereotype of the Korean patriarchy that women should be at home. The articles introducing female leaders show women as just as or more competent than men.

The factory founded with Mrs. Sung's superb brain and efforts was an incredible achievement which even male workers had proud of. (...) She reached today's position beating male workers in management and technology ability. (The 19th issue, p.2, ‘The Woman Who Breaks the Old Prejudice’)

Because Ms. Kim studied harder than other students in the university, she graduated the 4-year regular course just in three years. (The 34th issue, p.11, ‘The Korean Female Student Who Visited the American Rural Area’)

As stated in the two articles above, these women succeeded in their own fields through outstanding achievements regarding study and ability. The

examples of successful women were not limited to their individual success stories, and they provoked the argument that women were capable enough to work in the productive public sector. These articles encouraged giving women with equal opportunities in the labor market.

I think that women also have enough courage and ability to fly a plane. So I believe that they need to carry out the responsibility for national security during a national emergency. (The 28th, p.2, 'The Only Female Pilot')

Of course, she does not regret becoming a female worker, but she repeatedly insisted on securing more opportunities for women. (The 19th issue, p.2, 'The Woman Who Breaks the Old Prejudice')

These articles also show that the U.S. had a significant influence on female leaders.

Other technicians were not satisfied with the design just because a woman drew it. However, it eventually was adopted because one big chemical company in the U.S. acknowledged my design. (The 19th issue, p.2, 'The Woman Who Breaks the Old Prejudice')

The woman in the article was not recognized just because she was a woman. Instead, because her work was acknowledged by the U.S., it was eventually reappraised in Korea. This reveals that U.S. influence was so strong that it overcame the lingering Korean patriarchal stereotype. At the

same time, this gave the impression that all members of American society were recognized according to their abilities regardless of gender.

In addition, Kim Yunjeong and Kim Gyengo¹¹ were featured in the magazine as the kind of female leaders who studied in America. Their education experience in the U.S. helped them to gain social recognition, since knowledge and skills from the U.S. were considered superior to those from Korea at that time.¹² At the same time, they played a role in delivering U.S. lifestyles, ideas, and knowledge to Korean society by providing a positive image of the U.S. and its information.

Ms. Kim used to live with an American family while she was in America, and she mentioned that everyone was friendly and kind. (...) She was very impressed by that the U.S. youth enjoy the freedom to have good opportunities. In other words, in America, personal factors such as family background, sex, and social status have no impact on individual success. (The 34th, p.11, 'The Korean Female Student Who Visited the American Rural Area')

Given her kindness and generosity, it can be assumed that how kind Americans are. They always help others and pursue to live together.

¹¹ "The Korean Female Student Who Visited the American Rural Area" introduces Kim Yunjeong working as a pharmacist in a U.S. army base. "The Only Female Pilot" and "Do You Know the Woman in the Picture?" introduce Kim Gyengo serving as a pilot. According to the articles, both of these women can be regarded as representative of woman leaders who were recognized as successful in their fields.

¹² In the magazine, those who in position of expert are described as being educated in America. For example, issue 34 "Teachers Who Studied Abroad" states that those who studied abroad, mainly in the U.S., contribute to developing agriculture sector by teaching others what they learned in foreign countries.

(The 28th, p.2, ‘The Only Female Pilot’)

The two texts above present a positive image of America by mentioning Americans’ kindness. The first one takes the view that, on the basis of meritocracy, success in the U.S. depends on personal ability, not inherent factors. The emphasis on meritocracy had a close connection with the idea of equality for all because its embedded assumption is that everyone should be fairly assessed and rewarded according to ability, regardless of gender.

Most women who represent female leaders in *New Strength* lived and worked in urban areas, and seemed to have wealthy family backgrounds since they received university educations (some of them even studied in America). However, the magazine features articles introducing women from rural areas as female leaders. The representative example is found in an article covering female leaders of community development projects.

The great change in the village began when Kim Yeongja was assigned to the Gwangdong-ri village as a leader by the National Council for Community Development eighteen months ago. (The 31st issue, p. 1, ‘The *Gwangdong-ri* village in progress’)

Korean economic development was in progress step by step through a lot of various projects, but the community development project based on a village became the most important project for development. Above all, activities of a community leader like Kim Yeongja are important. (...) Male and Female village leaders including Kim Yeongja who are carrying out brilliant activities in many model

villages are employees of the National Council for Community Development in Seoul. (The 31st issue, p.2, 'The Community Development Project Contributing to Village Development')

The community development project was designed to improve the living conditions and socio-economic conditions of people by mobilizing community resources (ORD, 1967). Leadership and the abilities of village leaders were crucial factors to achieving the goals of the project effectively and efficiently with a confined budget (Han, 2008). As identified in the text above, women were also recruited as village leaders, and female leader Kim Yeongja was known as an exemplary community leader in the NACOM. Notably, the community development project of the Gwangdong-ri village, of which Kim Yeongja was in charge, obtained an exceptional result regarding the improvement of income compared to other communities. The Gwangdong-ri case was advertised at home and abroad, and her leadership was regarded as the most significant factor in its success (Han, 2008). Although the number of female village leaders of the community development project was relatively small in comparison with the number of male leaders, the articles in the magazine describe women taking an active part in the project as leaders and making remarkable results.

However, the women's success in the public space did not lead to lessening their domestic work. In other words, both productive and reproductive work was imposed on women. This barrier to focusing solely on productive public works provoked discrimination against women in the labor market.

When you jump into the labor market, you should not neglect your responsibility for your husband and children. There are double reward and joy for women who serve both as a housewife and a female worker. (The 19th, p.2, 'The Woman Who Breaks the Old Prejudice')

The article above argues that female workers should continue to carry out their roles as housewives. In short, it can be confirmed through the article that women's participation in public production activities was considered a form of professional work, and domestic work was traditionally imposed exclusively on women as a their primary role based on the gender division of labor.

These articles can be acclaimed in that they prove that women are as capable and competent as men, promoting the entry of women into public affairs. However, they are limited by arguing that female workers should fulfill domestic work as well, functioning to intensify female workers' burden of labor.

In the magazine, there are four types of representations of women: housewife, member of a democracy, laborer in the production sphere, and leader. Each of the four types has different dimensions, and they are not separated but intricately connected. On top of that, the four types are the outcome of a reflection of USIS's perception toward women and the time period. The following chapter will deal with the relationships between the four types of representation.

IV. Discussion

The previous chapter examined how women were represented in *New Strength*, categorizing the representations into four types. Furthermore, it explored the knowledge and information that was transferred to women and the enlightenment activities aimed at women and implemented according to the different representations of women. Based on the findings of the previous chapter, this chapter will discuss the characteristics of the enlightenment content and activities identified in the magazine, taking into account the context of the times.

4.1 Korean Rural Women in *New Strength*

4.1.1 Relationships of the Four Types

The previous chapter notes that women's representations are largely divided into four types in the magazine *New Strength*: housewife, member of a democracy, laborer in the production sphere, and leader. These representations can be seen as a reflection of the U.S. perception toward women in Korea and a time when women played various roles while Korean society rapidly changed after the Korean War.

Regarding the relationships of the four types, it is notable that each of the four types has different, connected dimensions. The types of housewife and member of a democracy have in common that they were naturally given to women, but they are different in that the housewife role represents only women while the role of member of a democracy represents both women and men. The housewife is a gender-biased representation based on the

gender division of labor, so in general, every woman falls under the type just because they are biologically female. On the other hand, when it comes to members of a democracy, as long as an individual has a political membership in a democratic society, he or she is naturally recognized as a member of a democracy. Thus, women are also represented as members of a democracy.

Meanwhile, laborers and leaders can be seen as a reflection of a time when women actively participated in the sphere of production. In addition, the two types show the different ways in which women took part in the sphere of production in accordance with their socio-economic statuses. The laborer type reveals that women took an active role in agricultural and industrial labor at that time as much as men did. It is noticeable that there is no evidence in the magazine that technical education or training programs related to an increase in productivity were implemented for women, although women were directly and indirectly represented as agricultural or industrial laborers. This corresponds to the argument of the WID advocates that technical knowledge and skills about modern commercial agriculture were exclusively transferred to men in a gender discriminatory way.

Lastly, the female leader type represents a small number of women who were socially recognized as competent and talented in their fields. The type can be acclaimed in that it shows women as capable and competent in the public sphere of production as much as men. However, it is limited in that female leaders were redefined as housewives when they came back to home, so they were required to carry out double labor.

4.1.2 Enlightenment for a Housewife



<Figure 8>
Women who believe in superstition (The 9th issue, p.1, 'A story of health clinic in a rural area')

In *New Strength*, women are described as those who need social assistance and to be enlightened, rather than those who are independent agents participating in a development process. This perception

toward women can be confirmed in the pictures of the magazine, portraying that

women seem foolish and believe

superstitions. In addition, from the paternalistic perspective, women were viewed as being in need, so many articles featured content dealing with how to ease their labor burdens.

Above all, this perspective is in line with the perception embedded in the early development projects in the 1950s and the 1960s. It can be confirmed by three points that enlightenment content and activities for women in *New Strength* were based on the welfare approach, which was the most popular one reflected in the other international development projects for women at that time. The first point is to define women as housewives on the basis of the Western notion of gender relations. As a result, enlightenment content for women primarily consists of home economics concerning household works. The last point is the irrelevance of enlightenment content to the real lives of women.

1) The key representation of women: housewife

In *New Strength*, women were primarily and fundamentally represented as housewives, as indicated by the most frequent terminologies used for women in the magazine, such as *farm wife*, *housewife*, *wife*, and *rural housewife*.

It is noteworthy that the western notion and perception of the gender relations¹³ had a significant influence on housewife representation in the magazine. The magazine presents a typical American housewife as an ideal model for women, and provides home economics information that originated in the United States. Thus, the enlightenment content for women in the magazine is primarily related to scientific and professional knowledge concerning domestic labors.

It was in line with international development projects for Third World women led by Western industrial advanced countries, in which women were defined as housewives and taught about home economics knowledge. As noted earlier, in the 1950s and the 1960s, most international development projects for Third World women were based on the welfare approach. And they were implemented on the premise that the roles of Third World women were similar to those of Western women, so the objective of the projects was to turn them into scientific and professional housewives. In other words, like other international development projects for women, the Western housewife was provided as a model for rural women in Korea through the

¹³ The modern gender division of labor in the West has represented the most fundamental framework of social gender relations since industrial capitalism was established in the 19th century, and it refers to a way of understanding gender roles for family members: a male breadwinner and a full-time female homemaker (Bae, 2016).

enlightenment activities led by USIS.

This was linked to the heyday of the domestic science movement and maternal deprivation theories, which sought to offer a scientific rationale for confining women to unpaid household work and forcing women out of their wartime jobs (Rogers, 1989). The domestic science movement and maternal deprivation theories contributed to reinforcing modern Western gender divisions of labor, making a sharper distinction between the private and public place and women's and men's roles, confining women's place to the home (Rogers, 1989; Scott, 1995).

Development projects for women based on Western gender notions spread widely to the Third World with the dissemination of development projects led by Western countries, especially America. After WWII, when the U.S. rose to global power and prosperity, the U.S. played a pivotal role in spreading development projects to expand the U.S. market and strengthen its influence over international society. In order to support development projects in particularly developing countries, the U.S. provided financial and military aid and carried out culture activities such as guidance on lifestyle. As a result, Third World countries regarded the U.S. as a model country, and they put all their efforts into following the processes of the U.S. development to catch up to advanced, industrialized Western countries (McMichael, 2012). The U.S. lifestyle was not limited to the economic development process, and also became the model lifestyle recognized as modernized and refined by Third World countries (Heo, 2014). In other words, through U.S.-led international development projects, U.S. society was considered the ideal, model society in every aspect.

In particular, since South Korea shared a common border with communist North Korea, South Korea was perceived as geopolitically important for the U.S. under the context of the Cold War. Therefore, the U.S. actively supported South Korea to secure it against the communist camp and develop it as a modern state through foreign aid. Furthermore, to reinforce the U.S. impact on South Korea, USIS actively carried out cultural projects. USIS intended to expand cultural and ideological influence on Korea by periodicals, pamphlets, films, exhibits, radio programs, and the press (Heo, 2004; Koh, 2010). As such, USIS introduced U.S. culture as an advanced and modernized culture to Korean society in cooperation with other U.S. aid agencies. Through the cultural projects, the U.S. attempted to enlarge its impact on not only public space but also the private space represented as the home, which led to enlightening rural women in Korea as housewives based on the U.S. perception of women and the existing gender division of labor. (Kim, 2007).

To be specific, planners of international development projects, mainly led by the U.S., played a central role in disseminating the modern gender division of labor to Third World countries. The absolute majority of the development planners were men trained in the Western tradition, and they uncritically accepted the Western notions of gender relations and the gender division of labor (Rogers, 1989). Thus, they viewed women in the Third World from this perspective, reflected in development projects for Third World women. In other words, the planners designed and implemented international development projects for women in a gender-biased way, without careful consideration of women's real lives.

As Rogers pointed out, this can be confirmed through the male-biased sex ratio of development planners through the magazine *New Strength* as well. The serial article “Who Is It?” introduces U.S. aid agents and the Koreans who worked with the agents. The series was published almost every issue from 53 to 75 (the final issue), and all of the interviewees in the articles were male except for Mrs. Betty. Moreover, the series mainly dealt with the interviewees’ main tasks and distinguished careers, but the article introducing Mrs. Betty covers chiefly her secondary activity to help the deaf rather than her role as an aid agent or her career. This example shows that the majority of the U.S. aid agents working in Korea were male, and female aid workers’ tasks would not concern the planning and operating of development projects.

2) Enlightenment contents for housewives

Since international development planners viewed women in the Third World as housewives, they sought to enlighten them to become scientific and reasonable housewives by providing them with knowledge and information concerning domestic works based on home economics. As confirmed earlier, this is also reflected well in *New Strength* through articles introducing relevant information and knowledge, the guidance works of home improvement workers, and an introduction of the home economics major to the regular curriculum in education institutions. In other words, a scientific and reasonable housewife was considered by the U.S. to be the ideal image of a housewife and an enlightened model for rural women in Korea.

Thus, U.S. enlightenment activities in Korea were primarily related to home economics and its sub-branches like nutrition and childrearing. Particularly, as other international development projects led by the advanced, industrialized Western countries stressed nutritional education to combat Third World malnutrition (Moser, 1989; Rogers, 1989), enlightenment content regarding food and nutrition expanded in *New Strength*. Moreover, in terms of articles covering the improvement of food, it is noteworthy that they focus more on unfamiliar food ingredients and their nutritional information rather than indigenous food ingredients as a result of agricultural industrialization. Because of this industrialization, the cultivation of cash crops and livestock were promoted and enhanced,¹⁴ so many articles on recipes using these were published in the magazine. The articles also highlight the importance of livestock in terms of income and nutrition, and they encourage more consumption of animal protein. For instance, “Scientific Farmer” in issue 62 states that “In general, Farmers who raise livestock are healthier than farmers who do not, since they tend to have more meat, egg, and milk.” The article “What Do We Have to Eat Every Day” in issue 46 introduces meat, milk, fish, tofu, and eggs as important food for the body and suggests having several variations of them every day. The article also emphasizes that children have to drink milk to make their bones and teeth healthy. The magazine encouraged the intake of animal protein. In fact, the intake of animal protein was promoted by the

¹⁴ According to “Agriculture Is a Business” in issue 23, the growing of cash crops was encouraged to raise income. It can be assumed that this prompted a change of the characteristics of Korean agriculture from subsistence production to industrial production.

U.S. in other Third World countries as well. Considering McMichael's (2012) argument that an increase in consumption of animal protein was closely linked to the U.S. economy and its influence on international society, it can be assumed that promoting livestock and consumption of animal protein was not only based on nutritional reasons but also reflected U.S. economic and political interests.

Another situation of the times that had an impact on the introduction of new food in *New Strength* was the U.S. food aid program, known as PL480. To dispose of grain surpluses, the U.S. government designed PL480, and the U.S. provided Third World countries with farm surpluses through the program. Korea was one of main recipient countries of U.S. farm surpluses. However, there is an argument that the aid program contributed to addressing the food shortage problem in Korea, and many previous studies have claimed that PL480 destroyed the Korean agriculture sector by providing cheap farm surpluses in excess of the amount of the crop shortages (Jang, 1989; No, 1988). Other international studies also have pointed out that PL480 reflected U.S. economic and political interests (Carolan, 2012; Custers, 2012; McMichael, 2012). In fact, the U.S. government officially announced that the goal of the program was “to increase the consumption of the U.S. agricultural commodities and to improve the foreign relations of the U.S. and for other purposes. (McMichael, 2012)” Considering these goals, it is clear that the U.S. implemented PL480 in Korea to open up a food market and expand its influence on Korean society.

Since *New Strength* was published by USIS, one of whose essential tasks

was the propagation of rationale for U.S. policies for Korea (Chong, 2007; Heo, 2008; Koh, 2010), articles in the magazine dealing with PL480 viewed the aid program from a positive perspective, arguing that it resolved the food shortage problems of Korea. One of the examples is the article “The U.S. Food-Aid Plan for Korea,” which states that the U.S. agricultural surplus aid provided raw materials to the Korean industrial sector and helped to supplement national finance. As such, to successfully carry out PL480, the magazine featured articles concerning it written from the positive aspect.

Furthermore, it was essential for Koreans to consume U.S. grain surpluses in order to accomplish the goals of PL480. Notably, given that Koreans virtually did not have foods like Western-style bread before 1960 (McMichael, 2012), it was required to change Korean dietary patterns toward consuming a large amount of the U.S. agricultural surpluses. In this regard, women played a crucial role in consuming them because it had been the role of women to prepare food as a central part of their domestic work (Kim, 2013). So, it can be interpreted that the magazine introduced the nutritional advantages of wheat, the major surplus grain from the U.S., and recipes using it in order to encourage rural women to employ U.S. farm surpluses and change Korean dietary patterns. “The Cheap and Tasty New Food” from issue 7 introduces U.S. aid food, stating that it is cheaper and more nutritious than most other foods. “Not Only Rice” from issue 70 explains the nutritional advantages of wheat.

Moreover, the Korean government also led projects to encourage the consumption of U.S. agricultural surpluses because they were closely

related to Korean rice exports and the growth of the food processing industry, which used flour for making ramen, bread, and noodles, and the projects were predominantly targeted at women (Kim, 2009; Kim, 2013).

In short, the PL480 program had an intimate connection with the respective interests of the U.S. and Korean governments, and it was necessary to consume U.S. farm surpluses to fulfill these interests by successfully conducting the program. In this respect, women became those who needed information and knowledge of the grain surpluses from the U.S., like how to cook them and their nutritional content, since they were traditionally in charge of preparing food. So, the U.S. and the Korean government supported projects like dietary life improvement campaigns and a variety of cooking and nutrient classes, using them to make food out of U.S. farm surpluses like wheat rather than rice (Kim, 2013). *New Strength* featured articles concerning U.S. farm surpluses and targeted at women as part of efforts to increase the consumption of surplus crops.

Not only food improvement projects but also home improvement projects, such as clothing improvement and residential environment improvement projects, were also based on home economics knowledge. Based on the underlying assumption of the knowledge that a Western lifestyle was superior to a Third World lifestyle, home improvement projects sought to Westernize the traditional Korean lifestyle, and this tendency was applied to the articles of the magazine.

3) Relevance of U.S. enlightenment content

U.S. enlightenment activities for women were designed and carried out based on the image of women as housewives and under the notions of U.S. male development planners, rather than being based on actual Korean women's needs. For this reason, there was enlightenment content irrelevant to the real lives of women in Korea. One of the instance is the series of articles introducing the washing machine. According to the articles, U.S. aid agents designed the washing machine to lessen the burden of doing laundry, known as the most demanding domestic work, as a form of technical aid. Although its intention was to be beneficial for rural women in Korea, it was irrelevant to their real lives since it demanded many materials and skills to build and use the machine that were hard to obtain in rural areas at that time. Furthermore, considering that there were many households that did not have access to a water supply, it was necessary to draw water from a well several times or to move the machine near a wash place in order to use it. This would be a difficult and exhausting task for rural women.

On top of that, the scientific basis of home economics reflected in the home improvement projects was questionable in that the information based on home economics in the magazine differs from today's knowledge. For instance, while the articles in the magazine imply that the Western diet is nutritionally superior to the Korean diet, these days local Korean food is being talked about as desirable food in terms of nutrients (Kim, 2013).

When it comes to irrelevance of the content, the fundamental reason why U.S. enlightenment content was hard to apply to the lives of Korean rural women is that the Western notion of the modern gender division of labor,

which was the underlying assumption of the content, was itself irrelevant not only to the women in Third World countries but also to Western advanced industrial nations. The modern gender division of labor in the West refers to a way of understanding gender roles for family members, a male breadwinner and a full-time female homemaker, and it has functioned as the most fundamental framework of social gender relations since industrial capitalism was established in the 19th century (Bae, 2016; May, 1988).

However, the gender division of labor was irrelevant to most families both in the West and the Third World in which female family members participated in productive work along with male breadwinners (Bae, 2016). Moreover, impoverished rural women in the Third World, including Korea, did not have a choice but to engage in productive public labor; at the same time, they were responsible for private reproductive labor as well (Buvinić, 1986; Germain, 1976; Mies, 1986).

As confirmed through existing literature, rural women in Korea participated in economic activities in general (Bae, 2004; Lee, 2003c). The majority of them were involved in not only agricultural production but also commercial business and service businesses such as standing markets, peddling, and restaurants. Furthermore, as Korean industrialization was in progress, women gradually began working in the labor-intensive manufacturing industry (Lee, 2003c). In addition to economic activities, Korean rural women had to carry out domestic work and community activities as well (Cho, 2000; Gills, 1999; Kim, 1994). In short, at that time, rural women in Korea undertook three different kinds of labors: public

productive labor, private reproductive labor, and community service.

However, although women played a variety of roles in agricultural areas, the U.S. enlightenment activities aimed at them were implemented on the premise that they were full-time homemakers as a result of the modern gender division of labor in the West, potentially causing the invisibility of women's agricultural production and community activities. In addition, defining a woman as a full-time homemaker might lead to excluding women from training programs for a growth of productivity, such as farming methods and machinery. In particular, considering that at that time the agricultural economy changed to a monetary economy due to the influence of industrial capitalism, leading to a higher demand for currency, male-biased enlightenment activities concerning agricultural production led to aggravating gender inequality in the agricultural sector since the activities were closely related to an increase in income.

Not only agriculture training programs but also industrial technology training programs were male-biased. The articles "Technology to Build a Country" and "Foundation of Development" point out that substantive technology could make more contributions to national development. Thus, both articles emphasize technical schools, but technical education in the schools was carried out in a gender-biased way. For example, "Technology to Build a Country" introduces a representative technical school, the Pyeongtaek Comprehensive High School built with the U.S. financial and technical assistance, and the article describes that male students learned agricultural and industrial techniques directly linked to the improvement of productivity whereas female students "learned technologies which will be

used at home.” To be specific, according to the article, female students learned “appropriate cooking methods and ways to maintain health, which will contribute to the future of Korea.”

However, it is a well-known fact that the female labor force played a significant role not only in domestic work but also in manufacturing industrial work. This can be identified through the sex ratio of the workers at the manufacturing factories in the magazine articles.¹⁵ Although a lot of unmarried young women from rural areas served as laborers in the industrial manufacturing sector, industrial technologies and skills were mainly transferred to men. Therefore, women were incorporated into the labor-intensive manufacturing industry as unskilled laborers, resulting in low wages.

The gender-biased technical education carried out in the agricultural and industrial sectors resulted from defining all women as housewives (Mies, 1986). This may have led to maintaining women’s wage low by considering their income as secondary while men’s income was regarded as primary (Mies, 1986). This was also reflected in the articles of the magazine introducing male workers as “skilled workers who have dependent family members” and female workers as “unmarried” and “unskilled or less-skilled workers.”

¹⁵ “The Symbol of Korean Development, the Korean Textile Industry,” and “The Rural Woman Coming to a Textile Company” state that the number of female workers was at least six times higher than the number of male workers. Although this sex ratio cannot be generalized to all other factories at that time, it can be inferred that female laborers accounted for a high proportion of the total number of workers in the labor-intensive industries in the early stages of industrialization.

4.2 Dissemination of Democracy

In the context of the Cold War, the U.S. intended to reconstruct South Korea as an anti-communist country within the capitalist camp. So, the U.S. actively conducted enlightenment activities introducing democracy to Korean society. In particular, the aid agencies were concerned about rural areas because the majority of the Korean population resided in the countryside at that time (Heo, 2008). The U.S. intention of spreading democracy to rural areas was reflected in *New Strength* and rural development projects like the 4-H club and community development projects.

4.2.1 Equality for All

All the articles in the magazine introducing democracy¹⁶ put a stress on individuals who constitute a democratic state. They state that all democratic procedures are implemented by individuals and for individuals. They mention that no individuals are excluded in a democratic state, and this kind of respect for the individual stems from the firm belief that everyone is equal. They insist that individuals themselves should put in an effort to realize democracy.

Of course, this stress on the individual refers not only to men but also women as members of a democratic country. Thus, the articles introducing basic democratic procedures such as elections and meetings describe women

¹⁶ Issue 19, p.8, "The Power of America, Democracy." Issue 37, p.2, "What Does the Revolution Mean to a Model Farmer in a Democratic Country?" Issue 38, p.2, "Self-Determination, Autonomy, and Democracy." Issue 40, p.2, "Strength and Weakness of Democracy." Issue 66, p.2, "What is Democracy?"

as active participants in the proceedings. “The Village Meeting” shows that women have an equal right to vote and voice their opinions about public affairs. In addition, “The Election Day” reveals that women make their own decisions about education issues according to their own subjectivity. In short, the articles in *New Strength* show that, like men, women are members of a democracy and they have an equal right to make decisions about public affairs.

The fundamental democratic idea of equality for all was reflected in the education sector. “The Free Middle School in *Samcheok*” states that the school was operated on the premise that education must be equal to all people regardless of gender. Moreover, the articles¹⁷ that introduce higher education institutions predicted that more female students would enter to the institutions. This reveals that higher education institutions recognized the need for female education and tried to implement it.

Meanwhile, at the local level, U.S. aid agencies tried to disseminate democracy mainly through the 4-H club and community development projects. As stated in “Agriculture and 4-H club,” the 4-H club was introduced to Korea in order to teach rural youth about democracy. To achieve this goal, the club provided rural youth with opportunities to participate in democratic organization and experience democratic procedures. In addition, the basic form of the club sought to include both female and male members within one unit. In this regard, the 4-H club activities were acclaimed in that they enabled women to take part in

¹⁷ Issue 30, p.4, “The *Suwon* Agriculture College Serving the Country.” Issue 43, p.8, “Establishment of Comprehensive High School in *Pyeongtaek*, *Gunsan*.” Issue 62, p.4, “Technology to Build a Country”

democratic organization with an equal right to carry out various 4-H projects (Kim, 1994). Conducting 4-H projects allowed all members of 4-H clubs, including female members, to develop the ability of self-determination which is necessary for any member of a democracy.

In the meantime, democratic ideas and principles were applied to community development projects as well. Given that the security of individual rights and expansion of democratic procedures were postulated as a criterion for project evaluation, U.S. aid agencies sought to disseminate democracy through community development projects (Heo, 2004). The projects paid attention to rural women as participants, as confirmed through several points. To begin with, the project facilitated self-help activities based on all village people's needs. There were female community leaders who made significant contributions to implementing community development projects, and consideration of women was reflected in most contents of the projects (Kim, 1994).

The perception of equality for all also applied to articles concerning female leaders, which¹⁸ introduced women who were socially recognized and competent. Through the articles, women were portrayed as capable and competent enough to enter into productive public labor and compete with men. When it comes to the female leaders in the magazine, it is noteworthy that the U.S. had an influence on social recognition of women's abilities. This may have led to constructing the image of America as an egalitarian

¹⁸ "The Woman Who Breaks the Old Prejudice" introduces Ms. Sung working as an engineer, "The Korean Female Student Who Visited the American Rural Area" introduces female pharmacist Ms. Kim, and "The Only Female Pilot" describes the distinguished career of Ms. Kim, a female pilot. "The *Gwangdong-ri* Village in the Progress" shows the achievement of a female community leader, Kim Yeongja.

society where personal success rests only on personal ability, not on natural factors such as sex and family background.

4.2.2 Paradox of Democracy

As examined earlier, the U.S. sought to disseminate democracy to rural people in Korea, and according to the basic assumption of democracy, equality for all, the perception of gender equality was also reflected in the magazine. However, in discussing the issue of the individual as a fundamental unit of democracy, the magazine neglected or excluded women.

To begin with, even though women seem to be active participants in democratic procedures such as elections and village meetings, in the articles concerning democratic procedures, women are described as usually following the opinions of male family members. Moreover, their interests seem to be confined to certain issues among public affairs typically regarded as women's task. They are also addressed in the articles using objectified terms such as *John's mother* and *John's wife*, rather than by their own names. In short, although there were efforts to include women in the process of democracy, the efforts did not reach to recognizing women as equal to men in terms of the actual operations of democracy.

Although it seemed that the need for female education increased, educational activities were implemented in a gender-biased way. This gender-biased education was contradictory to the basic perception of democracy, equality for all, because it was carried out on the premise that women and men had different roles according to biological sex differences, rather than being ultimately equal.

This paradox of democracy also can be found in the community development projects that the U.S. used as a major means to spread democracy to rural Korean society. When it comes to evaluation of the community development projects in Korea, the principal research tool was the interview schedule for village workers and village informants who were representative of village members. However, of the 860 village informants interviewed during the survey, only around thirty were female (Hodgdon, 1961). The small number of female informants participating in the evaluation shows that women were marginalized in the process of the community development project evaluation. In other words, although the

Person or Group
Making Final Choice



C.D. Kae



C.D. Council

<Figure 9>

Final decision-makers of
community development projects
(Hodgdon, 1961)

principal objective of the project was to strengthen the concepts and practices of democracy at the village level, the male-biased selection of informants for the evaluation revealed the lack of consideration for rural women, which is out of line with the concepts of democracy. In addition, according to the evaluation report, the community development

*kae*¹⁹ predominantly made the final

choices of the project, but the *kae* members

mostly consisted of family heads (Hodgdon,

1961). Considering that family heads were husbands in the modern nuclear family (Gills, 1999), it can be assumed that opinions of female village members were hardly reflected in the process of making final choices for the

¹⁹ *Kae* refers to Korean traditional private organization on a basis of reciprocity.

community development projects. Furthermore, the evaluation report describes those who select, plan, and execute the development projects as male, which proves once again the lack of consideration of female village members in the community development projects.

Lastly, although the articles concerning female leaders show that women are as competent as men, encouraging women to enter the public sphere of production, largely regarded as a male area, the articles still describe women as being in charge of domestic work at home. In particular, “The Woman Who Breaks the Old Prejudice” notes that women should not neglect their household work even if they work in productive labor. In other words, although the range and degree of women’s participation in productive public work were expanding, this did not lead to lessening women’s private reproductive works, increasing women’s work burdens by imposing on women productive public labor and private reproductive labor at the same time. Besides, this is a discrepancy with the fundamental conception of democracy in that private reproductive work was exclusively assigned to women according to gender.

The U.S. intended to disseminate the conceptions and practices of democracy to rural Korean society, emphasizing the individual as a basic unit of democracy, but in reality, women were not recognized as equal individuals. This contradiction of democracy correlates with Scott’s argument (Scott, 1997). She argued that in the Western tradition the individual was mainly regarded as an abstract prototype for the human rather than a unique being, and to conceive of individuals in this way it is required to abstract individuals from the differentiating social statuses

attributed to birth, family, wealth, occupation, and religion. This abstraction led to positing a fundamental human sameness, a set of universal traits, and an expanded way of thinking about political, social, and even economic equality (Scott, 1997). However, the abstract concept of the individual could cause a paradox of democracy in that it can function to exclude those who are regarded as not having universal traits. Particularly, when the body's organs were taken to be the source of distinction between those who had universal traits or not, the difference between men and women became sharper, and men exemplified the human individual whereas women did not (Scott, 1997). Namely, democracy seeks equality for all, but at the same time, paradoxically it excludes individuals who are thought not to possess universal traits. In this regard, the democracy the U.S. sought to spread to Korean society posited its principal unit as the abstract prototypical individual rather than unique individuals different from all others. Therefore, women, considered non-prototypical individuals, were excluded from the enlightenment activities of democracy.

V. Conclusion

Although today's global society has paid close attention to gender equality and made efforts to achieve it, the majority of rural women in developing countries are still constrained by gender-based discrimination. Thus, it is necessary to incorporate a gender perspective into all rural development projects.

In this situation, it is noticeable that Korean rural development experiences are examples for other developing countries. Particularly, it has been noticed that rural women in Korea were able to raise their social status through active participation in rural development projects. Rural women's activities for Korean rural development projects have been presented as a model example for developing countries.

In response to this attention, there have been many projects and studies aimed at sharing Korean rural development experiences with other countries. But in order to deeply understand Korean rural development experiences, it is necessary to research early rural development projects conducted under the guidance of the U.S. because modern Korean rural development projects originate from them. Thus, subsequent Korean rural development projects, including the Saemaul-Undong, known as the most representative Korean rural development project, are based on the experience of early projects, and they follow early systems and principles.

However, previous studies have neglected early rural development experiences in Korea. Moreover, even though the impact of U.S. aid to Korea varied across region, class, sex, and socio-economic status and the

U.S. designed different development projects depending on different targets, there are few existing studies that focus on particular aid beneficiary groups. Particularly, there has been little or no consideration of women in previous studies concerning U.S. aid to Korea.

Thus, this study focuses on U.S. enlightenment activities among various kinds of rural development projects conducted in the 1950s and 1960s, when Korea was one of the main recipient countries of U.S. aid. It analyzed U.S. enlightenment content transferred to rural women in Korea by conducting qualitative content analysis of the magazine *New Strength*, published by USIS in the 1950s and 1960s.

This analysis shows that the representations of women were divided largely into four types: women as housewives, women as members of a democracy, women as laborers, and women as leaders. These representations are a reflection of Western perceptions of women and the time period when women played a variety of roles while Korean society rapidly changed after the Korean War.

Above all, in terms of the relationships of the four types, it is noteworthy that each of the four types has different dimensions, and that they are not separated but interconnected. Both the type of housewife and member of a democracy have in common that they were naturally given to women. But they are different in that the housewife type is attributed to biological sexual differences while the type of member of a democracy is attributed to political membership. Thus, the type of housewife can represent only women, but the type of member of a democracy can represent both men and women. Meanwhile, the types of laborer and leader reflect the era of the

1950s and 1960s, when women took an active part in productive public works. At the same time, the two types show that women were involved in the public sphere of production in different ways according to their socio-economic environments. Poor women in rural areas engaged in farming work almost without exception, and young single women in the countryside were incorporated into the labor-intensive manufacturing industry as unskilled laborers. On the other hand, the female leader type represents a small number of women who received higher education and were socially recognized as competent and capable in their own fields.

However, although women's representations vary, ranging from housewife to female leader in the magazine, the enlightenment content for women was primarily concerned with domestic labors for housewives based on the modern gender division of the West. In other words, women were universally defined as housewives just because they are biologically female, regardless of age or position in the production sphere.

This seems to be in line with the welfare approach for development projects for women, which were the most popular style in the international development field in the 1950s and 1960s. The male development planners trained in the West viewed Third World women based on the Western conception of gender relations, so they uncritically reflected their perceptions of gender roles in Third World development projects for women. Thus, they presented the West's scientific and reasonable housewife as an enlightened model for women in the Third World. It is also reflected in the magazine *New Strength*, in which the content for women mainly features home economics knowledge to change rural women in Korea to

Americanized housewives.

However, the modern gender division of labor was irrelevant to the real lives of rural women in Korea. According to the gender division of labor, women were regarded as full-time homemakers in charge of unpaid reproductive work in the private sphere, but the majority of rural women in the Third World, including Korea, had no choice but to take part in productive public work to survive. Rural women in Korea served as housewives in the private reproductive sphere, as laborers in the productive public sphere, and as village members in their communities (Cho, 2000; Kim, 1994). In this regard, the enlightenment content and activities focusing on domestic labor may have led to the invisibility of women's roles as laborers and village members.

Lastly, under the context of the Cold War, the U.S. sought to disseminate democracy to the Third World in order to strengthen and expand the capitalist camp against communism. Since democracy is based on the principle of equality for all, dissemination of democracy naturally led to a rise in the perception of equality between men and women. This can be confirmed through the articles in *New Strength* concerning the introduction of female leaders, the demonstration of women's participation in democratic procedures, and the presentation of an increase in female education. However, there are still limitations in the articles in that women are still described as passive and objectified in public place.

New Strength magazine, published by USIS in close cooperation with other U.S. aid agencies as part of enlightenment activities for rural Korean people, described Korean rural women as housewives and transferred

information related to domestic labor to them. However, U.S. enlightenment content for rural women was irrelevant to their real lives, and even intensified gender discrimination in productive public work since new knowledge and skills were mainly transferred to male workers. In addition, enlightenment activities to spread democracy were contradictory to the fundamental principle of democracy, equality for all.

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국문초록

국제사회에서 젠더에 대한 관심이 고조되면서 모든 국제개발협력 사업들에 젠더는 필수적인 고려사항이 되었다. 하지만 이러한 노력에도 불구하고 여전히 대다수의 개발도상국들의 농촌여성들은 사회적 제반 시설과 교육에 대한 접근, 양질의 일자리 등의 부문에서 남성들에 비해 많은 제약을 받고 있다. 이와 같은 상황에서 한국의 농촌개발과 이를 통한 농촌여성들의 사회적 지위 향상은 많은 개발도상국들에게 모범 사례로서 제시되고 있다. 따라서 국제사회에서 한국의 농촌개발과 여성들의 참여에 대한 더 많은 연구들을 요구하고 있다.

본 연구에서는 한국의 근대적 농촌개발사업의 기원이 되는 1950-60년대 미국의 한국 농촌개발사업에서 여성들을 대상으로 어떠한 계몽활동을 하였는지 밝히고자 하였다. 구체적으로 미공보원이 한국 농촌사람들에 대한 계몽의 목적으로 발간한 잡지 《새힘》을 중심으로 농촌 여성들에게는 어떠한 계몽의 내용을 전달하고자 하였으며, 그 특징이 무엇인지 당시 시대적 맥락을 고려하여 살펴보았다.

《새힘》에서는 여성들이 가정주부, 민주국가 구성원, 생산영역의 노동자, 그리고 여성 지도자로서 총 네 가지 유형으로 표상되었다. 여성의 네 가지 유형의 관계는 병렬적이지 않고, 서로 다른 차원에서 복잡한 관계를 가지며 나타났다. 가정주부와 민주주의국가 구성원으로서의 유형은 여성들에게 자연스럽게 주어지는 것이지만 가정주부는 생물학적인 차이에 기인한 것인

반면에 민주주의 국가 구성원은 정치적 성원권에 기인한 것으로 남녀 모두에게 주어진다. 한편, 생산영역의 노동자로서의 여성과 여성 지도자는 여성들이 공적 생산영역에 활발하게 참여하였던 당시 시대상이 반영된 유형이다. 하지만 이 두 유형은 사회경제적지위에 따라 여성들이 공적생산영역의 참여가 다른 형태로 이루어지는 것을 보여준다. 농촌에 거주하는 가난한 여성들의 경우 거의 예외 없이 농업 노동자로서 농업생산영역에 참여하며, 농촌의 젊은 미혼여성의 경우에는 도시지역에 위치한 공장의 미숙련공으로서 공업생산영역에 점차 편입되는 모습을 보였다. 반면에, 여성 지도자 유형에 해당하는 여성들의 경우 고등교육을 마치고 각자의 분야에서 그 실력과 능력을 인정받는다.

하지만 네 가지 다른 여성들의 유형이 등장함에도 불구하고 《새힘》에서 한국 농촌여성들을 기본적으로 가정주부로서 규정하고, 미국의 근대적 성별분업에 기반한 과학적·합리적 가정주부를 계몽의 모델로서 제시하고 있다. 이는 당시 여성들에 대한 국제개발사업의 복지차원의 접근과 일치한다고 볼 수 있다. 이에 따라 계몽의 내용 역시 대부분 근대적 가정주부가 되기 위한 과학적·합리적 가사노동에 대한 정보와 지식으로 구성되어 있다.

한국의 농촌여성들을 근대적 가정주부로 규정하는 것은 당시 한국 농촌의 상황과는 유리된 것으로 계몽의 내용을 한국 농촌여성들에게 그대로 적용하기에 무리가 있었으며, 농업과 공업 생산영역에서의 지도활동에 여성들의 배제를 초래하였다. 또한, 생물학적 성차에 입각하여 남녀에게 다른 역할을 부여하는 것은

미국이 한국농촌에 전파하고자 한 자유민주주의의 기본 이념인
만민평등과도 모순된다.

주요어 : 한국농촌여성, 농촌개발, 계몽, 《새힘》, 미공보원, 대한원조

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